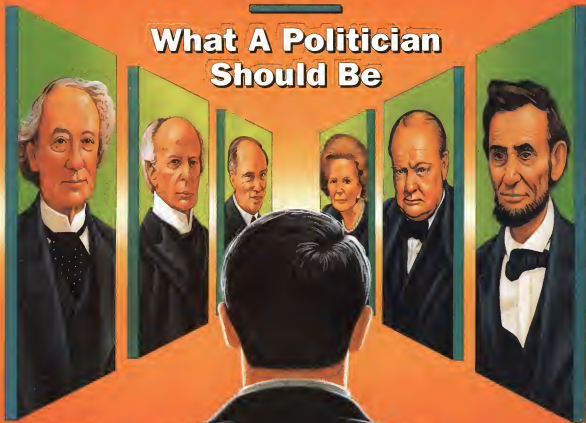


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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE JULY 22, 1971 VOL. 164 NO. 27

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COVER

THE SEARCH FOR LEADERS

A vast majority of people sur-
veyed in a Gallup poll said
that Prime Minister Brian
Mulroney should resign. Can-
adians are looking for lead-
ership that will ensure their
faith in a widely discredited
political system. Quebec poli-
ticians enjoy a better rapport
with voters. But elsewhere,
politicians and their advisors
are working to respond to a
new and menacing mood in
the land. — 14

BUSINESS

WHAT KIND OF RECOVERY?

Paul Desjardis is hiring more work-
ers at his Vancouver furniture fac-
tory to fill a sudden rash of orders.
But while Canadian consumers ap-
pear to be shaking off the worst
effects of the recession, economists
are uncertain about the strength
and duration of the upturn. And few
expect any 1960s-style boom. — 30



ARCHITECTURE

PLANS GONE AWRY

Vancouver architect Arthur Erick-
son is one of the world's most tal-
ented designers. But he himself ac-
knowledges that he is a poor
manager of his business affairs.
Last week, he was back in his home
town following his latest financial
setback—the collapse of his Los
Angeles-based design firm. — 34



Seeing The Light

The newspaper article rings a familiar note: "The gut feeling that remains is that the present Trudeau Liberals cannot win the next election here. Their only hope is that Joe Clark will lose it." That analysis, from the *Montreal Star* in February, 1974, notwithstanding the previous state of Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's Liberals—and his own low standing in public opinion. That year, fans at a Toronto Blue Jays game booed him. Ministers resigned from his cabinet. Faced with calling a general election, Trudeau instead scheduled 15 federal by-elections in seven provinces. The non-election was a disaster for his party, the Liberals won only two of the seats. The next year, the Trudeau Liberals lost to Joe Clark's Conservatives. Clark's government, in turn, fell nine months later—and today, Trudeau is remembered fondly as a tough leader who stuck to his principles.

Venerating politicians once they have left office in Canada is a tradition that dates back to Sir John A. Macdonald, who died at the age of 75 in 1891, near the end of his days in office. "I am a good deal discouraged as to our future. Our country is too old and too long in office." It is difficult to imagine how Prime Minister Brian Mulroney can overcome the worst negative rating for a party since polling began more than 50 years ago. But anything is possible, especially given the prospect that the next election may create a Parliament splintered among

several parties whose leaders will seek power in a scramble to form multiparty coalitions.

Whatever the eventual outcome, it is clear from this week's cover story that the Canadian people are, in the words of the despised incoherence in the movie *Niktoz*, not as well and are not going to take it anymore. The success of their disillusionment appears to be a complete lack of trust in the Prime Minister—and a complete lack of respect for the alternatives.

But citizens are as much to blame for the poor state of affairs as the politicians. They place totally unrealistic demands on elected officials at all levels across the nation for relatively ordinary pay, elected men and women cannot work long hours, enforce intense media scrutiny, confront sustained attack from their opponents and deliver policies and programs that please most of the people in this unhappy land most of the time. In turn, the politicians do nothing to help themselves. Their ancient constitutional rituals in Ottawa and provincial capitals, epitomized by the daily barracking of Question Period, give all elected people a bad name. And the media's unapreciable threat for conflict and simplistic responses discourages co-operative effort among politicians from all parties. The country appears headed for a long, slow slide to a dark future. It is time for politicians—and those who respond to them—to see the light.

Karen Wray

Maclean's

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LETTERS

THE QUEST FOR A NEW CANADA

Heartly congratulations to Maclean's for the creative method of selecting 12 representative Canadians and enlisting Roger Fisher and his colleagues for an experiment in getting agreement on Canada's future ("The people's verdict," *Globe*, July 1). As a participant in Fisher's principled negotiation techniques, I am only mildly surprised at your outcome. There is light at the end of the tunnel if you have the courage to try innovative ideas like yours.

John Evans,
Kamloops

The only worthwhile result of your forum was the discovery that when the divisiveness fostered by the media, politicians and special-interest groups is dispensed with, Canadians can all live with one another despite differences of opinion. But I wonder why your forum excluded four Quebecers and only two members from western provinces. I suppose that was an attempt on your part to focus on the francophone-anglophone debate to the detriment of issues other regions may find as equally important. How very central Canada is to you.

Eric G. Schick,
Kamloops

"The people's verdict" is a precious gift to the citizens of Canada. Our adversarial political system is a steadily inadequate for steering the destiny of Canadians concerning the future of the country. In this critical hour, I hope that the powers that be will not be too arrogant to study and learn from what you have done.

Robert Stoker,
Trent, N.S.

It appears that blue-collar workers were a definite voice in your forum, and that of course includes most of us in agriculture. I was left feeling that only those with a postsecondary degree were considered intelligent and capable enough to take part in your experiment. You claimed to have reached the grassroots segment of Canada, but I would suggest that few of your panel have had the privilege of studying any roots firsthand.

Clayton Sim,
Burlington, Sask.

CHOOSING CHANCELLOERS

Barbara Amiel's suggestion that Rose Weiler qualify as the new chancellor of the University of Toronto surely belongs at her refuge and gender is irrelevant. It's a challenge to the very chancellors," *Globe*, June 24). What Weiler is and whom she knows are far less important than what she has



Fisher: 'light at the end of the tunnel'

done—extensive volunteer efforts and social work with the Jewish Family and Child Service, the Protestant Children's Home and the Young Men's Hebrew Association—and what she said. She is a University of Toronto graduate who has remained passionately involved in the community while earning respect outside our

community for her integrity, exemplary involvement and commitment to social justice. I am proud to have her as my chancellor.

John Black and
Chancellor Emerita, University of Toronto,
Toronto

Toronto University's new chancellor, Oscar Peterson, is likely too preoccupied to respond to Barbara Amiel's claim. I am not, Peterson is a virtuoso musician, well-known and much loved in Canada and around the world. His long-standing commitment to social justice is a matter of public record. He has been named an officer and a companion of the Order of Canada and an officer in the order of arts and letters of France. He has been actively involved with York University for many years, and has been an adjunct professor of music since 1986. Amiel asks, "What possible qualifications—other than his inimitable status as a minority member—does he have to be chancellor?" Well, we happen to think his qualifications are pretty good.

Jeffrey Kaye,
Communications Manager, York University,
North York, Ont.

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should include an address and telephone number. First principles should be written in the Editor's Office, Maclean's magazine, 100 West Beaver Creek, 777 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M6W 1A7.

PASSAGES

DIED Jewish Canadian's first female MP, Grace Macleod, 85, in Seattle, B.C., 55 km northwest of Vancouver. Macleod's father, J. S. Macleod, was a founder of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation in 1932, which became the C.P.C. in 1961. Macleod served as a councillor for Vancouver-Burnside from 1942 to 1945 and as an M.P. for Vancouver East from 1965 to 1974. Her husband, Angus Macleod, died in 1964, but he had died from 1932 to 1967. Grace Macleod was a determined supporter of equal rights for women and racial programs for the poor, and fought against the internment of Japanese-Canadians during the Second World War.



DIED Television actor James MacInnes, 57, of emphysema, in a heart attack at St. Michael's Hospital, Toronto. MacInnes also starred in several movies, but is best known for his TV roles. In 1958, he starred in ABC's *Naked City*, and in the 1960s he starred as an English teacher in the CBC dramatic series *Mr. Nostril*. From 1971 to 1973, he played lead police investigator Mike Longstreet in *Longstreet* and frequently guest-starred on a variety of TV programs.

DIED Award-winning veteran journalist Jack Brayer, 69, from complications of a stroke, in a Popville, N.S., hospital. During over 40 years with The Canadian Press, mostly in Halifax, Brayer covered such stories as the conscription crisis, transatlantic flights, the outbreak of the Second World War and Canada's role as a

protector during the Korean War. Brayer, who died in 1973, is also remembered for his role in the 1960s as ABC's Sunday-morning show, *Neighbor by Neighbor*.

AWARDED To taciturn American jazz trumpeter Miles Davis, 65, by French minister of culture Jack Lang, a knighthood in France's Legion of Honor. Davis is one of the pioneers of postwar jazz's cool movement and also a pioneer of the jazz-rock sound of the 1970s.

DIED Canadian big-band leader Fred Whelan, 85, in St. Catharines, Ont., hospital. Whelan played regularly at Toronto's Aeolian Hall in the 1940s and 1950s and also toured Canada and the United States with various bands.

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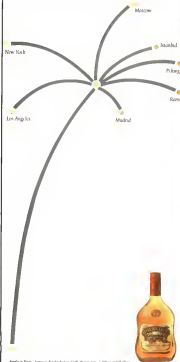
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LETTERS

ONE PARTY'S VISION

Peter C. Newman's fixation with keeping Quebec in Canada has led him into silly misadventures in attempt to undermine the serious rise of Reform party support ("Preston Manning's contradictory vision," *Business Week*, June 24). Manning is not advocating discrimination by voters (Reform Anglo-Saxon Protestants), simply equality for all. Obviously, Liberal and Tory political history of Quebec for over 25 years has backfired. Under Jackson's policies, Quebec would continue to have full control of language and culture within its boundaries. And Canadians might be surprised how accommodating Quebec would be if faced with tough, fair border traders, rather than power-hungry politicians.

Dennis Young
Scarborough, Ont.

Peter Newman is correct to say that the old Canada is dead. He is wrong to suggest that Canada must bow to Quebec's demands in order to preserve the nation. The only vision for Canada that is contradictory is the one that would allow any province to have special privileges.

David A. Goss
Windsor, Ont.

On behalf of WUSA, I would like to remind Peter Newman that the reason brought to this country the form of parliamentary democracy that attracts immigrants from all over the world, is the identification of separate groups that in the course of time of Canada's unity problems. Newman and his do a great disservice to Canada.

Pierre Abou
Montreal, Ont.

Peter Newman states that the Reform party's idea of direct democracy will not work because Canada "cannot be governed without its central authorities" making tough, often unpopular decisions. That is precisely the point. Successive Liberal and Conservative governments have not made these decisions, and so the country is not solvent, not united. Small wonder that Preston Manning and his platform are a little bit of fresh air.

Peter Perry
Collingwood, Ont.

In the photo accompanying "Gaining ground" (*Canada*, June 24), I noticed that of the 100 or so people in the crowd at the Reform party rally in Toronto, not a single one belonged to someone from a visible minority. Does this tell us something?

John Boyd
Toronto

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OPENING NOTES

Brian Mulroney makes a cameo appearance, Preston Manning writes a book, and *Joy of Sex* joins the 1990s

A DEGREE OF TRUTH

The academic credentials of Canada's senior civil servant, clerk of the Privy Council Paul Teller, are under scrutiny. Since 1980, both Canadian Who's Who and Who's Who in America have seriously listed Teller as having a 1982 master's degree in health-related work of the requirements for such a degree from the University of Montreal. And until last year, the Canadian Parliamentary Guide credited him with a master's in business administration. But Claude Lévesque, registrar at the University of Montreal, says that his records do not show that Teller ever received any degree there. In an interview with *Maclean's*, Teller said that he did not actually hold a master's degree from the University of Montreal. Nor, he added, does he have an MBA. But Teller stressed that he was not aware that errors had crept into his Who's Who and Parliamentary Guide entries until the Ottawa Citizen reported them recently. Said Teller: "I'm very unhappy about the whole thing. I feel very much that my integrity here is at stake."

Teller: 'my integrity here is at stake'



PHOTOGRAPH BY JEFFREY M. HARRIS

Better state than sorry

The age of AIDS has finally caught up with *The Joy of Sex*. According to author Alex Comfort, the best-selling 1977 manual will be republished this fall as *The New Joy of Sex* and will include suggestions for safer sex. In the 286-page book, Comfort argues that fear of contracting AIDS need not mean the end of intimacy. Still, he has discounted his previous anything-goes philosophy and now says that kissing is as satisfying as any other form of sex. He writes: "The only sane assumption in placing sexual behavior at that any new partner, however attractive, may endanger your life." Love and learn.

THE GENERAL'S NEW DESERT STORM

American intelligence officials say that they have uncovered an attempt to discredit Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf. The method: a fabricated transcript purporting to be an Israeli army radio interview with Schwarzkopf after the Gulf War. But, the star-star general is quoted as saying that the 43-day war was fought primarily on behalf of Israel. And he allegedly added that confidence in Arab troops, including Syrians, Saudis and Kuwaitis, might prove against Iraq's forces. The transcript has been circulating for the past several weeks in diplomatic circles.



Schwarzkopf: fake interview

Western: Israel



PHOTOGRAPH BY JEFFREY M. HARRIS

at the United Nations in New York City. But Maj. Gen. Schwarzkopf, a spokesman for the U.S. Central Command led by Schwarzkopf, and "The interview never happened." And although Saddam Hussein's Iraq government has denied any involvement, American officials insist that Iraq is most likely behind the elaborate hoax. The whole thing, they say, is intended for propaganda purposes in the Middle East. Todd LeVach, an analyst with the U.S. Information Agency, said he was impressed. "It's not just something somebody did on the back of an envelope," he said. "They gave it their best shot." The continuing battle for hearts and minds.

NEITHER SNOW, NOR RAIN, NOR HEAT

As a former senior adviser to prime minister Lester Pearson, Thomas Kent is no stranger to extremes. But he will need the Nobel Prize-winning negotiating skills of his former boss if he is to help save postal service in Mahab, N.S.—the small Cape Breton village where he has lived since 1975. In April, 400 residents harangued Canada Post officials at a meeting in Mahab over the Crown corporation's decision to eliminate the village's postal service. Canada Post then reluctantly agreed to keep any mail delivery. But if negotiations with Canada Post were out, a group backing Kent will soon create a business that will maintain full retail postal service. Kent, who has been hampered by larger battles in the past, is philosophical. "Even if we lose," he said, "it was fun and will have been worth the effort."

Minimum exposure

Because Prime Minister Brian Mulroney stands as low as public opinion polls, his staff took pains to protect him from



Mulroney, safe at home

potential backfires at last week's all-star baseball game in Toronto. So one announced his presence with President George Bush in a private box, and when Mulroney's image briefly flashed onto the big-screen JumboTron, he consciously appeared beside Bush during the final hour of The Star-Spangled Banner—hardly an appropriate time for being. Safe at home.

Where no man has gone before

The featured Star Trek: The Next Generation is the latest TV show to face pressure from a special-interest group. The Gay-Lesbian Menace, a Toronto-based organization for homosexual sex-education, has, since Star Trek episode in feature gay characters. Said spokesman Franklin Hummel, who is spearheading an international letter-writing campaign: "The series offers a vision of the future in which humanity has put aside its differences to live in peace together. However, at 25 years, Star Trek has never shown an openly gay character." But executive producer Gene Roddenberry is baffled. Said Susan Sackett, a spokesman for Roddenberry: "Any decision to have a gay character appear would

depend on the experience of the character's sexual orientation to the story." It does not seem there up yet, Society.



PHOTOGRAPH BY JEFFREY M. HARRIS

Star Trek casts a path for open homosexuality

THE HIGH COST OF STEALING

For four low-paid workers at Moscow's Sheremetyevo-2 international airport, the money bags filled with American \$100 bills proved irresistible. The four men have been charged in connection with a \$460,000 theft last December. The thieves used the money, which belonged to the Soviet Union's Bank for Foreign Affairs, to go on a spree, buying cars and video equipment. But under the Soviet criminal code, large-scale embezzlement of state property may be punishable by death by firing squad. True comrades in crime?



PHOTOGRAPH BY JEFFREY M. HARRIS

Embarrassment of riches

Reform Party of Canada leader Preston Manning has developed such a large national audience for his hard-boiled political message that so many in western Canadian authors are racing to produce books about him. Anne Porter, publisher of Sky Porter Books Ltd., said that Manning agreed verbally last winter to let her publish his autobiography. But she told Manning when a rival firm offered him a better deal in May. Unhappy, Porter promptly hired two Alberta authors to write *Showering Solitaires*, which promises to examine Manning's controversial mixture of politics and pulp. While Manning's officials denied that there was even an agreement with Porter, the Reform leader said that the publishing industry is simply reacting to consumer demand. "These people know what sells," he said. "They want someone with a rare taste of Canada." Words to live by.

Porter: verbal agreement



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ANOTHER VIEW



We have seen the enemy—it is us

BY CHARLES GORDON

The politicians, the intellectuals, the pundits and Keith Spivey have gone away for the summer, leaving us to ponder the great record of anguish they have left behind. Having posited us with the evidence of just how miserable we think we are, they head for the cottage, forgetting that misery loves company.

Before we all depart, too, before we turn our attention to the cottage, to so-called money, private-eye novels or whatever gets us through the summer, we should consider the question, then put it out of our minds for a while.

How miserable are we? There are a couple of answers. One is that we shouldn't be miserable at all, considering the alternatives—considering where we could be living and under what conditions. The second answer is that, yes, we are miserable: we are bitter, angry, impatient for change. Spivey showed that. The opinion polls show it almost every week.

Next question: What do we do about it? This is where it gets complicated, because what we do depends very much on whose fault it is. And the possibility exists that the fault is ours.

That is not a popular suggestion in the present climate. Today there is a search for villains. Brian Mulroney is a popular (or unpopular) one. Depending upon where you live or what language you speak, other villains are the Liberals, the NDP, the GAC, the French, the English, the Americans, the media, the Conservatives, Parliament—name it and somebody blames it.

The possibility that we ourselves might have anything to do with it has not crossed many minds. We seem to be afflicted with what the American journalist Peter Hainell has termed "victimism." Victimism, which Hainell saw even as the dominant American ideology, implies that nobody is personally responsible for the wrong of a life.

Writing in the *July Express*, Hainell says that "The victims' disappointments and failures that were once thought to be part of each human being's portion on this earth are not only unacceptable to us, considered anti-fair, career-threatening, life-threatening, but they are also the fault of somebody else."

Mulroney talking about the United States, but he could be defining the Canadian psyche. Here we are looking everywhere but at ourselves for the solutions to our problems.

To take a current example, the cry for a constituent assembly is rooted in the notion that our political institutions are outdated and irrelevant, coupled with the idea that the people have no way of making their voices heard. In fact, we have many ways of making our voices heard; we just haven't been using them. And if our political institutions do not function well, it is because we have not taken the trouble to demand that they do.

It is no revelation that Canadians pay less day-to-day attention to politics than they used to. We are less interested, less well-informed than our parents were, despite the fact that we have access to far more information. We have other things to do. We are too busy. Or so we say.

On a day-to-day basis, that means politicians can get away with mediocre Question Periods, degenerated into a stupid farce, played by members of both governing and opposition parties. The televising of Parliament has contributed to this, and the networks are content to pretend that showing a clip or two of mock outrage out of Question Period constitutes news coverage of Parliament. It doesn't, but we don't complain to the networks and we don't write to our members of Parliament demanding that they abandon mediocrity and try something else.

We have the power, as voters and as members, to demand better coverage. We have the power, as constituents, to influence our members of Parliament—and don't think they aren't affected by their mail. But we don't use our power. We go on reading movies and shopping, and every once in a while we wake up and yell that the system doesn't work.

That kind of reaction may have something to do with our consumer society. We have become accustomed to thinking that everything we need we can buy, right away. When our perceived problems are not solved, right away, we sulk and feel betrayed.

We have also lost the ability to lose—or at least lose gracefully. When the bad guys win, we are completely unconcerned by the fact that we can have at them again in four or five years. Instead, we cry foul and demand that the rules be changed.

We say that the system does not represent our interests, does not represent our values. Yet we have, in the political party, the elected institution for doing both, and we have stopped using it. Every five years, one of us may go charging off to pack a ball in favor of someone's nomination, but that's about it. Instead of becoming active in political parties and trying to shape them to reflect our views, we reserve our activism, if we have any at all, for special-interest groups through which we insist that no politician will get our vote unless he or she takes exactly the correct position on abortion, or immigration, gun control, free trade or moral rights. The idea of compromise has become foreign to us, and we have lost the ability to operate in a system in which compromise is the essential ingredient. We want it all, as the problem. And because we don't get it all, we grow outraged.

We complain from us, the parties grow large, concentrate on advertising and looking good in Question Period for 30 seconds at a time. But they are there, ready for us to use to make the country better. Say what you want about the Reform party and its odd policies, the fact is that it is an example of Canadians using the system to express their views and exert their influence. If Canadians who joined the Liberals, the NDP and the Conservatives worked as hard, it would be a far better country and there would be a lot less whining about how powerless we all are.

The fact is, we are not victims. We are just bitter and, at least where politics is concerned, we don't need a constituent assembly, we just need interested and energetic citizens.



President Mary Robinson and husband Nicholas with the Mulroneys in the Irish presidential residence garden: 'magic'

CANADA

AN IRISH HOLIDAY

Loughlinbridge is a tiny, idyllically picturesque village in the Irish Irish countryside 160 km south of Dublin that boasts 500 residents, one church, two graveyards—and six pubs. As Prime Minister Brian Mulroney passed out of the establishment, Mulroney's wife, Joan, who took a petticoat off her dress in a show of Irish hospitality, Mulroney, a testicular, diplomatically advised the glass to his wife, Milla, who took a sip. But that was the only small hitch in the village's effusive welcome for the Canadian Prime Minister, whose family emigrated from the area in the 1840s. Villagers greeted the Mulroneys and their four children with banners, streamers and an outpouring of hospitality. The Canadian leader, clearly moved, responded warmly. "After seeing this, I wonder why the Mulroneys ever left home."

That sentiment was easily understandable in view of the infectious enthusiasm displayed for Mulroney's presence in Ireland—and his phenomenal popularity at home. In fact, two days before the Mulroneys left Canada on July 18, a

BRIAN MULRONEY DISCOVERS MORE FRIENDLINESS IN IRELAND THAN HE DOES BACK HOME IN CANADA

new poll released by Gallup Canada Inc. showed that 89 per cent of respondents now wish that he would resign and leave office. That is Ireland, Mulroney landed in Irish Prime Minister Charles Haughey's description of him as a "stagnation of international status" and the warm reception of a public that, over beyond Loughlinbridge, greeted him as a returning son. His visit, which preceded this

week's meeting in London of the leaders of the Group of Seven industrialized nations, also gave Mulroney a platform to express his views on several topics expected to be high on that gathering's agenda. Among them: reduction of existing trade barriers between nations, cancellation of agricultural subsidies under the GATT treaty and how to respond to the request for export economic aid from Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, who will also be in London.

In fact, the subject of agricultural trade subsidies led to a point he sharply wanted disagreement between Mulroney and Haughey. Ireland, which depends heavily on agriculture, has bitterly protested a European Community proposal to sharply reduce the amount of trade subsidies that member governments may provide to their farmers. In a report released last week, the EC acknowledged that such subsidies give European producers unfair trade advantages. And Mulroney, whose government supports the EC proposal, underscored that position by telling a joint news conference the two leaders held in Dublin that Canada is

"taking a hell of a beating" from countries supplying such subsidies. That led Haughey to remark that Canada, which offers some farm subsidies of its own, is "taking a beating." Finally, Mulroney departed back at the Irish: "We are all winners—but some among us are mortal winners."

Still, that message did not affect the obvious bond between Mulroney and the Irish leader—who he frequently referred to as "Charlie." And the high regard that the Irish hold for Mulroney was evident in prominent media coverage of his visit. For its part, the country's leading newspaper, *The Irish Times*, published lengthy articles extolling Mulroney's views on such international issues as the nuclear crisis in Yugoslavia and the dissolution of apartheid in South Africa.

In such large, open-hearted Mulroney at all his public appearances, and he was given a prolonged standing

ovation by a school crowd attending a football in his honor held by the Dublin Chamber of Commerce. In return, Mulroney appeared markedly more relaxed than during his last public appearance on Canadian soil, a news conference with President George Bush in Toronto just before last week's baseball all-star game (page 36). Mulroney clearly revelled in the attention paid to him in Ireland, and occasionally conversed with his personal translator, who bore at one point, he joked, "Someone once said that Ireland is a place that makes women and poison disappear. I think there is a

number of people in Canada I would like to have visit here—and stay for quite a while."

And in fact, aside to the Prime Minister conceded that the Irish visit was intended mainly to serve as a pleasant prologue to this week's G7 meeting. With Gorbachev attending as the guest, the summit is expected to be one of the most significant in the country's 110-year history. Although the Soviet leader was not invited to join the private discussions of the Western leaders, he will meet them individually after the summit closes, when he is likely to seek commitments for substantial direct aid for the country's crumbly economy. But Mulroney echoed the cautious approach of other G7 leaders in his speech to the Dublin Chamber of Commerce. Observing that Canada supports reduced and structural aid for the Soviets, but not financial assistance, Mulroney said Canada will recommend that the Soviet Union be granted access to the "general international" with the International Monetary Fund. As well, he indicated that Canada will support a new form of contact: G7 membership for the Soviet Union and offer to help the Soviets achieve a structural and environmental reform, but he added a clear contingency note to those ideas, declaring: "There will be no strings."

On a personal level, however, Mulroney's Irish visit seemed to mark a change in his demeanor that was little short of remarkable. Throughout his four-day stay, his easy manner and evident delight in his surroundings marked a dramatic change from his often self-comportment at home. And as the trip drew to a close, Mulroney told his hosts—almost wearily—that "there have been many magic moments that I will always remember." Indeed, Mulroney is likely to need all of the restorative magic that he can muster from his visit in Ireland, as he battles the difficult issues that await him in London—and at home.

ANTHONY WILSON SMITH in Loughlinbridge

Milo Mulroney slips from a pile of stout in Loughlinbridge: 'magic magic moments'



National Notes

OKA RECALLED

Several hundred Mulroneys and their supporters held a pole view that included singing (and playing) carols at the Kinsale ceremony near Oka, Que., to mark the anniversary of a clash with Quebec provincial police that led to a 78-day standoff last summer over land claims. Mulroney, in a 300-page report, the Prime Minister's International Human Rights Foundation said that the rights of natives and non-natives alike were breached during the Oka crisis. And the human rights organization Amnesty International said in its annual report that it is still investigating allegations by Mulroney that they were ill-treated by police and denied access to lawyers.

HELP FOR A SHIPBUILDER

The federal and Quebec governments will give the financially troubled Miramichi shipyard located in Lower-Lamorne, Que., a total of \$300 million in aid—\$200 million of it from Ottawa. To help the company build a contract to build three navy frigates and eight fast destroyers for the navy.

SPENDING CONTROLS

Finance Minister Joe Mulroney proposed a law to limit federal budget increases—with exceptions—to an annual average of three per cent. The proposed limit would not apply to such spending as interest payments on the national debt, research expenses, transfers to the provinces for health and education, or subsidies to funds for the unemployed and western grain farmers. Mulroney's demand claims by Reform Party of Canada Leader Preston Manning that the finance minister is pre-empting a Reform promise, but he said: "If it does that, it would be a bonus."

FOR NEW FEDERALISM

Charles Doherty, president of Quebec's Council des citoyens, which represents 204 of the province's largest firms, and that of Quebec holds a referendum next year, it should be on a proposal for renewed federalism—not separation.

REFORMS FOR THE MENTALLY ILL

Provincial Justice Minister Ben Campbell proposed legislation to prevent the automatic and indefinite incarceration in psychiatric institutions of criminal defendants judged to be mentally ill. The proposals, which could affect up to 1,000 patients, would under strict provisions follow a Supreme Court of Canada ruling in May that declared the practice unconstitutional.

Power plays in Quebec

Ottawa challenges a James Bay hydro plan

After he was appointed federal environment minister last April, Jean Charest carefully started the tricky issue of Quebec's genetic program to further harness the hydroelectric energy of James Bay tributary rivers. Hearts of the project that he felt his predecessors at the question, the new minister chose to postpone a decision on how to tackle the burgeoning controversy over the environmental aspect of a proposed \$13.7-billion hydroelectric project in the Great Whale River in northern Quebec. But last week in Montreal, Charest finally acted, unveiling plans for a broad—and unilateral—federal assessment of the project, which is opposed by native living near the Great Whale River and by environmental groups far from settling the dispute, however, Charest quickly found that he had alienated proponents and opponents of the scheme alike. "We will not accept being subjected to action that comes from a federal committee," declared Quebec Energy Minister Luc Bouché. On the other side of the dispute, after Charest laid the way open for work to proceed during the federal study, Bill Nolin, executive director of the Great Council of the Crees of Quebec, labelled Charest's program "a sham and a farce."

Such outraged reaction may have been avoidable given the increasingly complex and conflicting concerns at play in the huge engineering project. Quebecers, which would require hydro power systems both during the 1970s and 1980s in the James Bay region, calls for the construction by 1998 of four reservoirs, 154 dikes and three power stations capable of generating 3,188 megawatts of electricity. The project would drain five rivers and flood 1,780 square miles of land. The Cree and Inuit aboriginals who live in the area fear that the development will destroy their hunting and fishing grounds, are seeking a comprehensive review. But the Quebec authorities want on a treaty process, beginning with an environmental study of the infrastructure—315 km of roads and three airports—and then a separate

assessment of the dams and generating stations. Their aim is to allow Hydro Quebec to begin work on the infrastructure as early as this fall. Critics say that none of the work should proceed until the entire project is reviewed.

Both the Quebec government and the native groups have been mounting reports over the



James Bay dam EG, completed in the 1980s, plans for expansion

past few months. The province assembled a broad coalition of big business and organized labor. The natives called upon Canadian and international environmental, native and social action groups. To further complicate matters, the Cree have a team of six lawyers making virtually full time on several different legal battles against a massive provincial and federal effort. "The object," said Robert Mironville, one of the Cree's lawyers, "is to keep Hydro Quebec on the defensive."

In the plan that he unveiled in Montreal, Charest attempted to strike a difficult—perhaps impossible—middle course. Responding

to the demand for a comprehensive review, Charest said that "an environmental assessment must be done globally, not piece by piece." To that end, he announced that a seven-member federal review committee will hold public hearings on the project beginning this fall. The committee's mandate is to examine the full range of environmental and social implications of all stages of the project.

But that plan drew a quick rebuff from the Quebec government. Its own prominent Energy Minister Bouché and Environment Minister Pierre Paré, who have been publicly trading over James Bay for more than a year, brother a rare united stand on the issue. Bouché threatened legal action to block the federal review or constitutional grounds. And Paré, who personally opposes his own government's decision to split the review process into two stages, nevertheless declared "It is not our intention to subject hydroelectric developments to decisions resulting from a federal committee. This is a provincial jurisdiction."

At the same time, Charest annoyed native groups by refusing to declare a moratorium on construction during the federal assessment. Instead, Charest expressed doubts about Ottawa's authority to prevent Hydro Quebec from starting work on the infrastructure before the review panel completes its task. Still, Charest: "It's not clear whether we have the power to stop them."

Charest's equivocal stance drew sharp rebukes from native representatives. Said Brian Crook, director of federal-provincial relations for the Great Council of the Crees: "Once they get the roads and airports built, it will be too late to stop the rest of the project, so either wait a federal review recommendation." Crook added that the Cree will likely refuse to participate in the federal review and will continue to fight the project in the courts and, if necessary, through civil disobedience.

In fact, the next salvo in the natives' legal battle is scheduled to take place this week when Federal Court hearings began on a Cree attempt to force Ottawa to implement seven stringent environmental tests that have already occurred. As a result of that challenge, and others on the horizon, Charest's attempt to find a middle path through the controversy is likely to lead him only as an increasingly hazardous political minefield.

BARRIS CAME in Montreal

Meet the man who's attended the launch of 36 ships, a flotilla of sloops, and 11,600,000 parties.



The Captain just loves a good time.



THE SEARCH FOR LEADERS

CANADIANS ARE PUTTING PRESSURE ON POLITICIANS TO EARN RESPECT FROM THE VOTERS

Wanted: Charismatic men and women to provide leadership to this large national enterprise in an extremely troubled and complex environment. Must have a vibrant and well-entrenched vision of the enterprise, a future acceptable to the majority of shareholders. Strong personal and natural skills are vital, including the ability to respond constructively to conflicting demands despite diminished resources and large debt load. Successful candidates will be mentally tough, open-minded, highly motivated but flexible. They will require a broad grasp of public relations, economic, social and legal matters. What is critical, open-minded and of course with previous/future all cultures. Ability to sleep outside is essential. Weekend and night work necessary. These wish persons experience would not apply.

The advertisement for fresh new leadership to rescue Canada from a state of yawning political apathy, at once, baffled. What is the disbandment of Canadians with their current crop of political leaders? From evidence in polls, as public opinion polls and is viewed as neighborhood conversations, it is impossible to escape the conclusion that most Canadian voters view their elected officials at best as ineffectual and awkward, at worst as dishonest and corrupt. In their place, it is equally clear that many Canadians are looking for a new generation of leaders capable of restoring their faith in a widely dysfunctional political system.

What Canadians seek may be unrealistic. "On the one hand," says veteran Conservative political strategist Hugh Segal, "the public looks for a leader who will seek consensus and reflect consensus held values. But, on the other hand, the leader must have to take initiatives and make tough decisions." But there is no question that the public's reputation of the existing standards of political performance is both up and down. "People have lost all confidence in the political process," asserts Donald Desautel, a professor of political science at the University of New Brunswick in Saint John. "It has become a game of hide-and-seek and charisma and leaders who refuse to take a stand."

Such disillusionment is not confined to Canada, as to this day. Political scientist David E. Eason, an expert on U.S. and Australian politics at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, observes that hostility to "washed politicians" is now a very common theme worldwide. "Others argue that there is little self-interest about the present situation in Canada. Richard Johnston, also a top political scientist, and a specialist in leadership questions, says that now, as in Canada's past, "a combination of economic distress and cultural tensions is a recipe for popular reaction." Ten years ago, he says, people were saying "I just don't know. There's too much going on and we're not sure of it." Indeed, many other men and women who are now often regarded as leadership persons—among them, John A. Macdonald and Wilfrid Laurier in Canada, Abraham Lincoln, Winston Churchill and more recently, Margaret Thatcher—were widely regarded as leaders during their times in office.

Even now, there are exceptions to the derisive and almost total political reputation. Many individual representatives retain the strong loyalty of local constituents—often earning that



McLaughlin pressures from different interests

loyalty with tireless dedication to public service. On a wider plane, however, in Calgary, Reform party leader Preston Manning has won growing support while displaying a personal style that clearly sets him apart from other politicians (page 26). And in Steteb, where public opinion towards politicians is generally lower than in the rest of the country, a majority of voters gave strong approval for federal leader and Bloc Québécois leader Lucien Bouchard (page 18). The one element that such leaders have in common, of course, is that they do not hold the reins of power.

Many other politicians, of every stripe, are struggling to respond to the public's demand for change with an array of reforms—actual or proposed. Government leaders in most legislatures have introduced written guidelines for their members' conduct. In Ontario, as well as



Maloney with reporters during a break in March Lake talks; McCarthy (right) with a supporter (before disbandment)

several provinces, politicians have demonstrated a new eagerness for public involvement in outlining issues that range from the Constitution to the environment. And as the back issues of every party, strategists are searching for the elusive elements of political vision, vision potent enough to dispel the notion skepticism that has settled over the electorate (page 18).

That task may be hardest at the pinnacle of power. Keith Spicer, chairman of the Citizens' Forum on Canada's Future, for one, observed late last month that he had found "a lot in the land" against Prime Minister Brian Mulroney. Last week, *Globe and Mail* published poll results that seemed to confirm that judgment: Sixty-eight per cent of those polled considered—a majority in every region, and as many as 80 per cent in Ontario—viewed "you" to a question asking who the Mulroney should step down as leader of his party. By comparison, 38 per cent of the respondents to that question said the same of Liberal leader Jean Chrétien, and 14 per cent said that New Democratic Party leader Audrey McLaughlin should step down.

The negative impression goes well beyond party leaders. Toronto Liberal rep Dennis Mills, for one, recounted how Grade 11 daughters of his daughter, Jennifer, booed when she told them what her father did for a living. Jennifer Mills: "She said, 'Dad, it was the most humiliating experience I ever had, telling my friends that you're a member of Parliament. I don't think I'm going to tell anyone again.'" Jennifer's Conservative brother Nathan, however, associated with

1979, already avoids admitting his occupation to fellow passengers on the flights he regularly takes between Winnipeg and Ottawa. "Sometimes, when my suitcase asks me what I do," he acknowledges, "I tell them that I am going to Ottawa to see a friend."

Some politicians have at least part of their present unpopularity on factors beyond their control. Western Tory MP Donald Bracken, for one, once engaged attacks against politicians by such special-interest groups as the Toronto-based National Citizens' Coalition, whose national advertising campaign have criticized the personal and other perspectives revealed by elected men and women. As well, Bracken says, television newscasts often criticize their coverage of Parliament to clips from the daily Commons Question Period, which he likens to "a sort of election dinner" that "sometimes

creates a bad impression of the system." Quebecers appear to be almost alone among Canadians in retaining a measure of respect for their politicians. Despite a string of scandals surrounding federal politicians from the province—including such high-profile figures as former public works minister Roch LaSalle—analysts note that Quebecers express far greater confidence in their leaders than residents of other provinces do. Enthusiasm for the difference view. Observes Montreal City Councillor Nick And Day Blair: "There is an ingrained respect for figures of authority in this province." Commented Marcel Lévesque, president of the Montreal polling company of Lévesque and Lévesque: "Powerful personalities, especially if they are colorful like René Lévesque as Jean Drapeau, are given much less respect in the way they conduct their affairs."

But as the rest of the country, politicians who seek to win power—or to keep it—will clearly have to satisfy the public of a new measure of competence in at least five critical areas.

Maintaining personal standards:

Canadian electors demand, and they aren't being met.

—Lynda Erickson, political scientist, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, B.C.



The turning point in the public's perception of acceptable political standards may have come in 1974, the year that U.S. President Richard Nixon was forced out of the White House by the Watergate scandal. Reaction to that event swept into Canada, contributing to the introduction of such measures as government conflict-of-interest guidelines and election legislation requiring disclosure of contri-

STRATEGISTS SEEK THE ELUSIVE ELEMENTS OF POLITICAL VISION

strains and strains depending. But the lessons still have not been uniformly absorbed by Canadian politicians. Many reporters in British Columbia first ducked last year that two-Persons *William Vander Zanden* had played a more direct role in the sale of his family business than he had publicly disclosed, the *Forbes* magazine politician offered a succession of explanations for the discrepancy before reluctantly admitting on April 2, he continues to insist that his actions were not improper. The Paul Tuzome, a professor of political science at the University of British Columbia, views the matter differently. "There was a lot of following me around in the corridors," says Tuzome. "It's a matter of trust and trust." But when that sort of person falls from grace, it is like a member of your own family who has done something that you cannot accept. It is broader."

But the Canadians had their own problems. They demanded that politicians extend beyond their electoral bases in that of Vladimir Lenin. They became advocates of far less serious personal problems. Some after he took office, Mulroney encountered criticism for possessing too many high priced Gator shoes, and similar heels were dropped at his wife, Milla, for her expensive taste in clothing. More recently, from his staided Ontario son Premier Bob Rae's young girlfriend, accusing then-Consumer Affairs Minister Peter Kesteven of committing an irregularity by possibly being clothed as a newspaper pop-up model. The day after he answered that he would introduce guidelines to eliminate women in boxer suits—except those he had been wearing and branded no women's underwear. The first Kesteven

The lesson, according to one of the politicians campaigning for Vander Zant's old job plan, Sen. Gayle McCarthy, is one of five candidates vying to succeed the ousted premier at the Social Credit leadership convention: this week "People want integrity in the handling of their affairs. They can forgive life events, but expect clear and honest delivery of services they are paying for."

Listening to the public

The lifeblood of democracy is the people's participation in it. If people do not participate, the whole process is in jeopardy.
—Nova Scotia NDP Leader
Alexa McDonough

It may be the strongest complaint to emerge from all of the recent public and private explorations of the country's political future: the widespread conviction that elected politicians do not adequately reflect the wishes of their constituents. Many voters expressed that view vehemently in interviews with Maclean's. Michael Vass, a Calgary-based commercial real estate broker, said it succinctly: "Politicians are



Choosing a discredited political system

all controllable. They do nothing of what people want them to do." And, said Kilian Spencer, an elementary school teacher in Langley, 55 km east of Vancouver: "Politicians, especially at the federal level, have gradually adopted a superego complex. They truly believe they know everything better than the people!" In Halifax, Dalhousie University political science professor Andrew Heard noted that sustained public protests over such policies as free trade with the United States and the Goods and Services Tax "did not appear to make a difference," and concluded

¹⁰There is an increasing consensus that Canadian politicians are not representing the public's interests.¹¹

that reflecting the popular will to politics has always been more difficult, as the public fragments into an expanding universe of special-interest groups—many of whose members are in debt with one another. Among those groups, a native Canadian community insists to survive long-standing claims, women's organizations refuse to accept the status quo, and social advocates of such disparate interests as fetal and animal rights, people with AIDS and the rights of the disabled.

The result is what University of Toronto political scientist Sylvia Chantler describes as "a participatory schizophrenia." Still, she notes, Canadians: "Politicians must maintain a willingness to look at interest groups as a legitimate part of the political landscape."

Leveling with the others

Politicians are still pretending they're perfect. But voters know they're not so the politicians look like liars.
—Allen Green, Toronto politician

According to the House of Commons rules of order, it is forbidden for one member to accuse another of lying. That has not prevented many Canadians from dubbing the stout truthfulness of their politicians. Since Knapp, a retired businessman who lives in Peterborough, Ont., is among the party in Ontario but has since left it, a commonly heard refrain when he is mentioned is "promise the earth during the campaigns and then, once they are done, do whatever they want." Adèle Knapp, now describes the Reform party as so incoherent that any other "I think the political process stinks. It associates

The perception that tax health insurance can be politically damaging, however, is deeply ingrained among many preexisting politicians—its strong reason. Maloney, for example, left the full consequences of a moment of civility during the final critical days of consideration of the proposed Michigan constitutional amendment to rest in interviews with the *Toronto Globe and Mail*. Maloney and that he had previously chosen to "pull the trigger" on waiting until the last minutes to gather the pressure in Ontario is decisive the more. That suggestion of inconspicuous politics due to waiting months that may have contributed to the accord's collapse less than two weeks later.

Other factors are at work, leaving them a week by politicians to appear late in their views. Said one federal MP of the major party leaders, excluding his own: "If they admitted that they

were wrong about our flag, then they would feel that they were vulnerable on other issues.²⁴

Thus, moreover, throughout all others in the era of politicians' credibility, according to many analyses the impact of television. Giscard's *Grandes*, for one, traces the author's growing effect to the late 1960s, when television brought images of the Vietnam War into voters' living rooms, thus conveying information that directly challenged the version of the war that official leaders were presenting at the same time. Then, says Tassin, political scientist Rabinovich, the televising of the *Shane* of Cameroun trace back 1977, "demonstrated what had been an ancient process." At the same time, she said, client coverage of politics by all media has made it more difficult for politicians to say one thing to one audience and another somewhere else.

At a recent session, some political leaders are attempting to convince their charges that, despite its pitfalls, strategy honesty is called for behind the political prism for the 1990s. Segal, for one, says that he will carry that advice to Midway when he joins the Prime Minister's staff as a political strategist next month. The International Communications Institute, who once worked at sea side to defend their leader from the media, said they still believe promises without them, says that they still believe the problems in the domestic sphere will be the ones who are capable of diverting attention. "No one has ever persuaded someone for having the courage to say simply that they were wrong," observed Segal. Other strategists asked Segal's philosophy, but questioned whether it

influence Mulroney, a politician who has not
done publicly acknowledged any error.

Offering a vision

We need a person who has a vision of *Canis do*—a set of principles which they are willing to follow regardless of the consequences.

The most difficult challenge facing political leaders in the 1990s may well be their capacity to articulate a clear—and inspiring—direction for the country's future. One recent reflection of the popular eagerness for strong leadership was the outpouring of support in English-speaking Canada for Clyde Wells during the Meech Lake constitutional debate. The *Liberal Newfoundland* praised "that vision of a united, inclusive Canada," noted *ABC* assembly



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The *Fredericton* area is municipal, provincial and federal governments, Bird, 59, has been a spontaneous compeller, energy and reliability. Even some political opponents describe Bird as a worthy representative in the House of Commons. Declared Daniel Hurley, a law professor at the University of New Brunswick in Fredericton and a former Liberal federal candidate: "Bud Bird is hardworking, knowledgeable and extremely honest." Added Hurley wryly: "His only problem is that he is aligned with the wrong party."

But come such prizes while stubbornly lacking the government's most controversial policies. The straight-speaking MP has been a determined supporter of the Free Trade Agreement, the CTT, the Meech Lake court

Other observers point to the long-standing political cynicism of former prime minister Trudeau. "I don't think Trudeau ever had any illusions about the nature of the country even when he famously declared the state himself to be disaffected with his politics. Indeed, as April Gallop pointed out at the Trudeau 75, Trudeau himself led the Liberals, the party would cease to be a majority victory in an election. So political cynicism assumed Trudeau." Most politicians today do not have a vision," he said. And he attributed the success of the few politicians whose public standing is high to their cynicism. "I think there is a sense of direction. So Trudeau was a wish man," he said. "I think it is a good thing that this generation of politicians is not like that."

There is, perhaps, the same expectation placed upon Canadian politicians to represent a formidable obstacle course on the road to power. Candidates for public office will be asked to demonstrate high moral standing, unflinching candor and supple responsiveness to an often contradictory public will—all the while maintaining a clearly charted course of their own. The demands may well exceed most ordinary mortal's capacity. Among the few corollaries, however, are that some hardy and virtuous will take up the challenge—while many of those sturdy in politics who fail to adapt to the new expectations will quickly find themselves in another line of work.

CHRIS W. TAYLOR was born in 1964.

'TAKING IT ON THE CHIN'

By now, after nearly half a century, Conservative members of Parliament for the riding of Fredericton/Scott/Stanley, have become accustomed to the embrace. Eighteen years ago, Bird held a public meeting, flanked by father and daughter, somewhere in the central New Brunswick region and for the past two years, the 30 to 60 members of the Bird family have become increasingly likely to show a flicker on the Assembly's galleries. In fact, the criticism because we wrote early last year that Bird's rising momentum suggested that he discontinue the meetings he responded that it was out of the question to refuse to face the people who elected him.

Stanleyites, I take it on the day of these meetings, are not alone in saying "But I was elected to be accountable." Accountability—and that's what I tell you.

That demonstrable sense of responsibility is one reason why the late political veteran remains a popular figure as he riding despite his party's beleaguered status. After 34 years representing citizens in

and bilingualism. The list is particularly centered in an Piedmontese city with deep British impact (here) where such anti-British groups in the Confederation of English partly have recently founded. But their endeavor has parental origin with a general touch and intention to detail. "It is my capacity to work that is almost divine intuition," says British Colonel Tony Mc Dowd-Worthy, who served last year on a subcommittee on minority members that had ethnic links at home. But recently he himself is in his riding outfit on weekends and in his office as an advisor. He seeks a point of intersecting his telephone call or letter from a constituent, even while engaged in a calendar that is filled with riding events—only a few of which are clearly political.

Still, even the ritually polite politician acknowledges that he is sometimes frustrated in his attempts to convince voters that the government's programs are at their best interests. Still, whatever the fortunes of Rod's party, his own enviable reputation is a notable exception to the dictum that dogs many of his political colleagues—of every stripe.

JOHN DOLAN is President



Mr. Knapik: We're an outpouring of support.

rage, which was childlike, ended in divorce in 1980. But a new chapter in his domestic life began a year later when he met the talented, American-born Audrey Best, 32, whose a place in London. At the time, Best was a student of French and an history major with her French professorship in Paris, the son of a young couple in Los Angeles for a family visit, while Bourcier was on his way back to Canada for a conference in Calgary last November. Bourcier told a Quebec women's magazine *La Presse* that they met when Audrey boarded the plane at the last minute and took the last remaining seat—Bourcier's. He added that he and the "tall, smiling woman" started a relationship that progressed from small talk to letters, outings in Paris and finally, in February 1986, to marriage in Canada. Their first child, Alexandre, was born nine months later. The family is expecting their second child this month. The Bourciers live in a renovated apartment in Outremont, a stylish, tree-lined neighborhood on the island of Montreal.

Supreme During the same period, Bourcier's political beliefs have soared in his house practice. But even members of the Bloc Québécois say that Bourcier's posture sometimes often distances him from more tedious administrative details—and even from managing his own cases (revenue legal aid). Indeed, Bourcier was taken by surprise in April when he left Ontario, a charter member of the Bloc Québécois, returned to the Conservative ranks.

Still, among Quebec voters, even his shortcomings may work to Bourcier's advantage. Dedicated François Gagné, the first of the five Tory and two Liberal MPs to quit their parties last year and join Bourcier's breakaway group of separatists. "Bourcier sometimes says things that lead other politicians to believe he has lost himself in the law," the lawyer says to themselves. "There is a man who says what he really thinks. And that is what people want these days." And his politics? "Bourcier," says Gagné, "is not only a radical attorney, but a radical leader who like 'That is why I'm leaving Bourcier' is so popular. He is so concentrated in personal life—after all, he could make a lot more money in private law practice. And in this way, he sort of connects them to Real Lévesque."

But Bourcier stands more firmly for a fully independent Quebec than did Lévesque, who advocated the intermediate stages of a sovereignty-association. Bourcier speaks without ambiguity for the creation of a "country of Quebec." As he delivered at the Tory convention, "Sovereignty is not negotiable." Still, Bourcier probably evokes Lévesque's memory, saying, "We need only follow the path that is done by those who have been in power and desire to take control of our own affairs." And many Quebec voters seem prepared to accord to Bourcier in the 1996 a measure of the same emotional affection that they lavished on the 1970s upon the leadership of René Lévesque.

'REVERSE CHARISMA'

PRESTON MANNING FLOUTS CONVENTION



Manning: an appeal to the disillusioned

The scene has been repeated at standing-room-only political rallies from Vancouver to St. John's. For weeks the first person to approach through the instant barrier of most political leaders, Reform party leader Preston Manning enters the speaking hall unobscured by a tall, handsome and bearded figure in the police. When the crowd, as it always does, explodes into a tumultuous welcome, the slightly built, bespectacled Manning quietly acknowledges the applause. Raising his speech notes, he appears now intent on delivering his already written message than leading in the crowd's adulation. Then, in a casual, practiced cadence that bears little resemblance to the rah-rahing superciliousness of most conventional politicians, Manning remarks on the printing of what he calls "the old *Idiot*" and sets out his views of the new critics that he says should take to them. The style is that of English Canada's leading politician in action—one that Thomas Fran-

co, a longtime professor of political science who now works as Manning's policy, strategy and communications director, calls "reverse charisma." And so he, it seems to be working. At a time when opinion surveys and public forums show that a majority of Canadians view most politicians with undisguised contempt, Manning's one leader who strikes a positive response appears significant part of the equation. His fledgling party has shot from a mere 10 to public opinion polls two years ago to claim the support of 18 per cent of respondents in a Gallup Canada Inc. poll released last month—in many as expressed support for the governing Conservatives. Part of the appeal is clearly due to his party's promise to make Parliament more inclusive to the people and its strongly populist rhetoric. It calls for dramatic reform of the country's democratic institutions, as well as other reforms such as provincialism, publicly supported education and liberal immigration. But right-wing agendas have been advanced before, most often by marginal formations that failed to penetrate the political mainstream. Much of Re-

form's present success in promoting its ideas can plainly be traced to the man who has been its most spokesman since the party's inception in 1987—and for whom a growing number of Canadians seem ready to forgive their pastwing cynicism about political leaders. Critics say that Manning will inevitably stumble as his views attempt to clear public scrutiny. But for the moment, the 40-year-old former business consultant is doing well by focusing political action. "Personally, I am incredibly pessimistic about politics," says University of Calgary political scientist Allison Dubé. "But I have seen Manning and I am more optimistic about him. He believes in twisting in the strange people who are not associated with the process."

Irony: The perception of Manning as an anti-politician is in ironic case for a man who was steeped in the world of politics from infancy. Manning was born in 1956—a year before his father, Kenneth, began a 25-year stint as the Social Credit premier of Alberta. Manning



Preston and staffer Manning: good worker at a party barbecue—a hard-core leader

credits his possible observation of his father with giving him a unique grounding in politics. At the same time, longtime observers of the family say that the junior Manning learned from his father the political virtues of patience, forward planning and, above all, listening. Indeed, even though father and son topped last year's with the idea of a new women's-based, conservative-minded federal party, the younger Manning acknowledges that he delayed putting the plan into action until popular new movements against the federal government created a favorable political climate. In the meantime, Manning attended to the demands of his Edmonton-based consulting firm—which produced long-range planning reports for a blue-chip list of clients in the Alberta Oil Patch—and the needs of his young family. In 1987, Manning married Sandra Brown, then a nursing student at the University of Alberta. The couple has five children, Austin, 21, Anya, 19, Mary Jo, 18, Nathan, 13, and David, 10.

Manning's moral and political streak is reflected in his decision to open his home to his Reform associates' house the governments up. To that end, his four-year-old party now has constituency executives in place in over 160 of the 200 federal ridings in English Canada. At the same time, Manning continues to play a hands-on role in determining party strategy and tactics—to the extent of directing that key riding nomination meetings be held on staggered dates in order to maximize media exposure and allow Manning himself to make personal appearances at each meeting.

But other ways, Manning endures many of the trappings of party leadership. He is currently at work on a political autobiography,

The Road to New Canada, which will be published by Toronto-based Macmillan of Canada early next year. But unlike other political authors, including Liberal Leader Jean Chrétien, Manning declined to use a ghostwriter, claiming that Canadians are rightly skeptical of politicians who do not speak for themselves. And while one of his Calgary aides acknowledges having seen an attempt—unsuccessful—to persuade Manning to trade in his employees for contract hires, most of the Reform leader's handlers say that they seldom offer him advice on his personal image.

Twists: In fact, supporters and critics alike say that Manning's low-key manner and reputation for forthrightness are among his greatest political assets. Observed political scientist Dubé: "People think most politicians are slimy, certainly that politicians lie. But they believe he is a different, and that what he says is backed up with some truth."

Other analysts centered that Manning's message, as much as his demeanor, explains the sudden success of the Reform party. In December, they centered, his message played for a new Canadian response directly to the pervasive discontent of a electorate out of patience with existing institutions and members' leaders. Said University of Toronto historian Michael Bliss: "His appeal is to people who are fed up with high taxes and politicians who are dishonest or incompetent. He appeals to people who have been disillusioned by the leadership of the day, and especially by the Prime Minister."

But some critics maintain that both the man and his message play better as lightning rods for discontent than they would if Manning was

ever required to emphasize his populist agenda. Manitoba Liberal Leader Sharon Carstairs, for one, says that the same public cynicism about elected politicians that now fuels the Reform party will turn on Manning himself if he ever takes office—and is forced to make the necessary compromises that come with governing. Declared Carstairs: "He will be hit with the double whammy. People will say, 'It was a matter of trust. You told us one thing, you ended up doing another.'"

Other observers suggest that Manning, as a relative newcomer in the house, enjoys the benefit of freshness, but that his standing will inevitably suffer as voters become more familiar with what his agenda and his party stand for. Said Patrick Levesque, a senior Ontario adviser to Liberal Leader Chrétien: "A man who has not been in public life for a long time is going to be much more appealing than someone who has been asked over the cards by the media and whose every twitch has been analyzed."

In fact, many of Manning's political opponents are clearly counting on increased media scrutiny to take some of the sheen off his crusade. The most frequently cited of Reform's potential Achilles heels, the party's opposition to federal grants supporting universities, is called for more serious questions about Canada's economic needs and its shoddy spending of the one in four of the Canadian electorate who lives in Quebec. Carstairs, for one, denounces the party as a "right-wing neo-fascist" that betrays the fact that Canada is not what it was 50 years ago. "The view is echoed by Norval Gosselin, a 58-year-old Calgary geologist and a prominent member of that city's East Indian community, who claims that Manning is "poisoning a ethnic and multiracial Canadian." Added Gosselin: "The fact is that Canada is now a multi-ethnic society. Manning comes from the clock back."

Risks: Manning is notably sensitive to such claims. In fact, until allegations that his party harbored racist and anti-Semitic Manning met with Jewish leaders in Calgary last October. "I despise racism in general and anti-Semitism in particular," he told them. Manning then described several measures that his party was taking to weed out extremists, including the requirement that would-be Reform candidates complete questionnaires designed to identify—and disqualify—any with racist sympathies.

Officials of the Jewish B'nai B'rith in Calgary later sent a letter thanking Manning for his "well-considered response" to their concerns—and offering to put him in touch with other Jewish leaders across Canada. Further the multi-ethnic Reform leader with the colorful, intense character, this gesture was widely expected to deliver reasonable political dividends.

JOHN HOWE is in Calgary with bureau reports

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SC 400



Runners in South Africa: efforts to integrate Olympic sports on a nonracial basis will be a gradual process

WORLD

IN FROM THE COLD

It was the week that South Africa came in from the cold. On July 9, the International Olympic Committee and the International Cricket Council welcomed the country back into world competition. The following day, President George Bush lifted most of the U.S. trade sanctions that for nearly five years had helped undermine South Africa's economy. Among most white South Africans, the immediate reaction was euphoric. The Johannesburg Stock Exchange index posted the 4,000-point surge for the first time in its history, adding more than \$5.5 billion to the value of industrial stocks. Sports administrators, too, expressed delight at the prospect of taking part in the 1992 Barcelona Olympics after 21 years of official Olympic exclusion. And although concrete benefits from the lifting of sanctions will likely be slow to materialize, the psychological boost was undeniable. Said

CITING THE DISMANTLING OF APARTHEID, BUSH LIFTS SANCTIONS ON SOUTH AFRICA

Johannesburg Stock Exchange broker Geoff de Buis (right): "For the first time, the light at the end of the tunnel is not an oncoming train, but real daylight."

Other substantial countries, including

those of the European Community, were expected to take the U.S. lead in lifting trade sanctions. But Canada did not follow suit. In a rare public disagreement with U.S. foreign policy, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney rebuffed African National Congress (ANC) President Nelson Mandela in denouncing the lifting of sanctions on premises. And speaking at a news conference during a visit to Dublin, Mulroney added "We were among the first to establish sanctions, and we may be the last of the last to remove them."

Congress imposed the U.S. trade sanctions in 1986, overriding a veto by then-President Ronald Reagan. Bush, who was then vice-president, also opposed sanctions. And in lifting them by executive order on July 10, he pointedly avoided endorsing the claims of the pro-sanctions lobby that the embargo was instrumental in persuading South Africa's ruling

National Party to abandon apartheid. Bush said that he was satisfied the South African government's moves "towards dismantling apartheid and ending white-minority rule" were "irreversible." He claimed that all South African political prisoners had long been released, fulfilling the last of Congress's five conditions for the removal of sanctions. The other condition was lifting the state of emergency that had given Pretoria draconian police powers, separating black apartheid laws that classified South Africans by race and designated at which areas they could live, legislate beyond political parties, including the ANC, and starting negotiations on a "truly representative" democratic system that would include South Africa's 28 million nonwhite blacks.

Bush was obviously aware that his action would not receive universal acclaim, especially because the U.S. definition of political prisoners was far narrower than the ANC's, which excludes those convicted for acts of violence in a political cause. Before making his announcement, Bush telephoned Mandela to argue that removing the sanctions was "the right thing to do." Mandela disagreed, stating that more than 800 political prisoners were still behind bars and that the government had made multi-racial progress towards ending apartheid. Bush attempted to mollify Mandela by dubbing Washington's \$400-million annual grant for black housing, education and economic development in South Africa, then he telephoned South African President F. W. de Klerk to urge him to "indicate to him that we expect progress to continue."

But those actions, and the fact that some U.S. sanctions remained in place, including in-

congressional votes to renege on sanctions. In any case, the immediate effect of the Bush decision was not likely to be great. The governor of the South African Reserve Bank, Christian Swails, said that the lifting of sanctions would have about a six-month-term impact on economic growth. South Africa's problems have not ended. "In confrontation, spokesmen for some of the biggest of the 199 U.S. firms that pulled out of South Africa in the late 1980s, including the Ford Motor Co. and Exxon Corp., made it clear that they were in no hurry to return. And observers pointed out that, whenever the federal administration might decide sanctions legislation or maintain the books of 25 American states and 40 cities—including New York and Los Angeles.

In sports, Montreal lawyer Richard Poirier, Canadian member of the International Olympic Committee, told Marston that the decision to allow South Africa to compete internationally "could not have been made without the very, very substantial progress that Pretoria has made with respect to dismantling apartheid." In Johannesburg, the Marston Center, where Whitea, a world-class swimmer with a best time of 2:06.15, said that he was "over the moon with joy" at the prospect of being himself against the best in the world. Although the ANC also welcomed that development, its officials warned that truly nonracial sporting sanctions, which South Africa is beginning to consider, could be built only from the ground up, and not imposed from above. Sam Ramoah, chairman of the newly recognized National Olympic Committee of South Africa, similarly warned that integrating Olympic sports on a nonracial basis would be a more gradual process than many athletes hoped.

At the same time, South Africans were clearly aware that no changes in foreign governments' policies could correct their anti-black chronic structural problems. In the black townships, more than 2,000 people have been killed in inter-racial clashes since last September on issues that Bush denounced the end of sanctions that day were doing in white townships. But the ANC has repeatedly accused elements in the army and the police of acting as provocateurs to its followers by members of the white minority government. Still, there remained a sense of great optimism about the government and the ANC for the start of full-scale constitutional negotiations. It is those talks, and not the removal of foreign trade and sporting sanctions, that will ultimately determine whether South Africa can become a truly democratic, nonracial country.

De Klerk and Mandela: a sense of great urgency

from embargo and a new International Monetary Fund loan, were not enough to dissuade Bush's critics. Benjamin Hovde, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, called the action "crassly irresponsible." Should he lose Senate Commerce Panel, Democratic chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations committee, said that Bush had done "too much, too soon." But the critics clearly did not recommend enough

JOHN BERKMAN with
CHUCK ROSENBERG in Cape Town and
WILLIAM LOWMYER in Washington

World Notes

A BRICKS CRASH

A shattered Canadian Olympic team in Nigeria crashed in Jibiti, South Africa, killing 14 Canadian crew members. Witnesses said that the plane, which Nigerian Airways had hired from Montreal to land in South Africa, caught fire shortly after takeoff and exploded before the pilot could return to Jibiti's international airport. The cause of the fire is under investigation.

NUCLEAR DISCLOSURES

Under international pressure to comply with terms of the Partial CoE, the Canadian, Iraq admitted that it was three decades ago began to develop nuclear weapons. Iraq claimed that it had only about one pound of highly enriched uranium and that most of its equipment was destroyed in the 1958 Suez crisis. However, it admitted that Iraq had enough enriched uranium to build at least one nuclear weapon. And they said that President George Bush has approved a list of Iraq's military targets that would be bombed if Baghdad agrees to allow inspectors to monitor its nuclear technology.

A LAWYER UNDER FIRE

Embattled Los Angeles Police Chief Daryl Gates agreed to resign after an independent commission, set up to investigate the March 3 beating of black motorist Rodney King by five officers, concluded that he was guilty. Gates, 64, who has held the job for 13 years, will retire once a successor is found.

MILITARY CUTBACKS

To save money and reduce the size of the armed forces, President George Bush asked Congress to approve the closing of 20 military bases and new research sites in the United States by 1997. The shutdown of 14 sites, 13 in base and five in research, as well as the reduction of an additional 48 military sites, would eliminate about 30,000 military jobs.

A SCHOLAR'S MURDER

Outside Tokyo, an unknown assailant opened fire on South African scholar Shabir Minwalla, who said that he was a South African scholar. Minwalla was shot in the chest and killed. The murder was attributed to a South African scholar who was in Japan at the time of the shooting. The murder was attributed to a South African scholar who was in Japan at the time of the shooting.

YUGOSLAVIA

No war, no peace

Daily battles rock a fragile ceasefire

Backlogged divisions in the shadowing of the possibility that increased Serbian GORs, a Serbian ceasefire in Yugoslavia's seceded Croatian republic. Hundreds of Serbian war with the traditional body armor and double-pointed hats of Chetnik guerrilla fighters and automatic weapons into the air. Their defiant chants of "We want war" turned to thunderous cheers as their leader, Vojislav Vukobrat, arrived to award prizes to the commander who had killed most Croats in his last, near June 25, when Slovenia and Croatia declared independence from Yugoslavia, about 50 people have died in clashes between Croatian forces and members of the republic's Serbian minority—compared with the 64 who died in the federal army assault on neighboring Slovenia. And even as a fragile ceasefire, brokered by the European Community, took hold in Slovenia, the violence in Croatia still threatened to erupt in a full-scale civil war.

The revival of the Chetniks, who model themselves on Second World War Serbian resistance fighters, is just one sign of the growing animosity in Serbia, Yugoslavia's largest republic. When Serbia's assembly last week in the Serbian parliament last week after rejecting a hybridization, he immediately called for the arrest of moderate Yugoslav Prime Momir Bulatović and the restoration of "Yugoslavism." Serbs. Those remarks clearly outraged many deputies, provoked shouting matches and even fistfights in parliament. But other Serbian officials expressed increasing antipathy in dealing with the two breakaway republics. Some called for the Serbian army to take over the border areas. Others, however, the July 7 peace agreement negotiated by delegates from Ljubljana, Portugal and the Netherlands on the Adriatic island of Brioni, said one member of the ruling Socialist party "The fate of the Serbian people cannot be decided from Luxembourg."

Under the Brioni pact, the Slovenian and Croatian governments agreed to suspend their independence declarations for three months to allow time for negotiations. All also pledged to refrain from forces in their territories, and Slovenian federal efforts control of its borders to the federal army. But even as the first 30 of about 30 European observers arrived at Yugoslav last week to begin monitoring the ceasefire, the past threatened to unravel. Slovenia

accused the federal government of withholding 200,000 Serbian reservists to prepare for a new onslaught, while federal officials accused Slovenia of failing to release all its government's military forces. Last Friday, at a crisis meeting of Yugoslav's eight main presidency, which the Slovenian delegate refused to attend, federal Vice-President Branko Kostić warned that the Belgrade government may

Croatia, in case that covers about a third of Croatian territory. And Serbia's Chetniks have vowed to fight for that land. Such violence to the United States last year to that the last surviving Second World War Chetnik unit, who conferred upon him the title of "Duke." When Serbia returned to Yugoslavia and began opposing his economic, the Chetniks were widely considered a radical fringe group. But the Yugoslav crisis has pushed them to center stage. And observers now insist that the Chetniks have close ties to Serbia's nationalist president, Slobodan Milošević.

The war of the group remains a tightly held secret, with estimates ranging from a few hundred to tens of thousands. The Croatian government has charged that Chetniks from Serbia have been crossing the Drava River into Croatia and are conspiring to assist the Yugoslav army in its eventual invasion. Both Serbia and Milosevic have said that they



Yugoslav army tank near Croatian border: Serbian-Croatian violence could ignite a war

force Slovenia to comply. "One option," he said, "is the Yugoslav People's Army."

Despite that war of words, many Serbian officials have said that they may eventually be willing to accept Slovenian independence. But Croatia is another matter. Serbs made up an estimated 800,000 of the republic's 4.6 million population. And better historical realities between the two groups intensified after the election last year of a pro-independence Croatian government, which, many Serbs say, is increasingly discriminating against them. "They treat us as if we were third-class people," said Igor, a 37-year-old student in Klanj, a Serbian town in southwestern Croatia, who asked that his last name not be used. Added Kozo Radović, a local journalist, "What we were in quite simple—we don't want to be part of an independent Croatia."

The Serbian government has laid claim to the Serbian enclaves in Croatia and southern

will not accept independence for Croatia unless it ends a large part of its territory. Croatian President Franjo Tuđman, who insists that the rights of Serbs will be protected in an independent Croatia, has refused to negotiate border concessions. Slovenia, meanwhile, congress fears that their own independence will be held hostage to the Serbian-Croatian dispute. And despite the 10-emergency ceasefire, many Yugoslav say that a negotiated settlement to the crisis of both republics seems increasingly remote. "We may have an element of war right now," said Slobodan Kostić, a housewife on the Slovenian city of Maribor. "But it is not peace—it just means a slower death for Yugoslavia, and it will be bloody all the same." And Europeans for all their efforts may be unable to stave the fire.

MARY MURPHY with GUY CARLSON, BRANISLAV INEJIC and JOHN WILLIAMS in Ljubljana



Participants at the Kremlin wedding ceremony: Yeltsin (below) 'sovereign'

THE SOVIET UNION

Kings of the Kremlin

Russia's new president takes office

As the red-and-blue flag of the Russian republic slowly rose over the Kremlin last week, Boris Yeltsin, head over heart, stood and swore a solemn oath of office as the first freely elected president in Russian history. The ceremony, which took place in a grandiose building within the marble and stone of the Palace of Congresses, was replete with the symbolic trappings of sovereignty. After Yeltsin swore himself in as the first president, a climax came the republic's new emblem, a recently reemerged lion by the 19th-century Russian composer Mikhail Glinka, before an audience that included 1,900 republican legislators as well as Moscow, patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church. But for all the outward signs of sovereignty, Russia is one of the poorest of the country's 15 republics committed to working out a new union treaty with the Kremlin. And Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, who demonstrated his acceptance by participating in Yeltsin's inauguration, clearly knows what Yeltsin has long preached, if the Soviet Union is to survive, it needs the support of its largest and most powerful republic. "Great Russia is rising from its knees," Yeltsin declared. "We shall surely transform it into a prosperous, law-based, democratic, peaceful and sovereign state."

After the ceremony, Yeltsin and Gorbachev, two 60-year-old men in well-tailored blue suits chatted amiably and shook hands, publicly dis-

playing their recently found willingness to work together to solve the country's massive economic and political problems. In addition to his support for a new treaty on unity, Yeltsin has endorsed Gorbachev's mission in London.

Yeltsin, who has been in the Kremlin for less than a month, former foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze resigned from the Communist party. And, along with eight other prominent reformers, he formed the Democratic Reform Movement, which they claim to develop into a political force capable of challenging the Communists. Gorbachev, the general secretary of a party that is gradually becoming the preserve of orthodox Mikhail Gorbachev, has publicly vowed the new organization is in part, some analysts say, because it could eventually offer him an alternative power base.

Yeltsin is certainly aware that political opponents and oligarchs can be highly perilous during this inaugural period. The new president pledged to tame and understand. "The president

best wishes on a day that commemorated Yeltsin's overwhelming victory in Russia-wide elections last month. And now, the Soviet Union's two most powerful politicians are supporting reforms that are intended to switch economic control from state bureaucrats to consumers and private producers. The Soviet legislature recently passed a law that will set free thousands of state-owned enterprises in Soviet cities during the next five years. And under a new investment law, foreign firms will now be able to operate wholly owned enterprises within the country and take their profits home. Russia's blueprint for economic reform is even more radical: recently passed legislation would allow state businesses to individuals and help employees to buy shares in their companies. And in another dramatic break from Bolshevik tradition, the republic will allow citizens to own their own houses or apartments for the first time in more than 70 years.

To be sure, implementing such reforms promises to be a drawn-out, complex process in a society that has had limited experience with free-market forces. And so-called Communist conservatives are increasingly open to these ideas to eliminate Gorbachev and his deviations from orthodox Marxism-Leninism. Last month, the Soviet leader had to rally his supporters against a legislature that would have stripped him of some of his executive powers. Defeated in that measure, Communist hard-liners also have multiplying threats to the party's already declining status. Party membership has dropped to below 18 million members from 20 million during the past year alone.

Meanwhile, the prospect of a credible opposition party seems increasingly likely. Under this month, former foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze resigned from the Communist party. And, along with eight other prominent reformers, he formed the Democratic Reform Movement, which they claim to develop into a political force capable of challenging the Communists. Gorbachev, the general secretary of a party that is gradually becoming the preserve of orthodox Mikhail Gorbachev, has publicly vowed the new organization is in part, some analysts say, because it could eventually offer him an alternative power base.

Yeltsin is certainly aware that political opponents and oligarchs can be highly perilous during this inaugural period. The new president pledged to tame and understand. "The president

as we find, new research or analysis may be needed to make the country's troubled people of Russia, and the rest of the Soviet Union, still had some serious left



MALCOLM GILBERT in Moscow

A super-spy comes clean

Bush's choice for CIA chief is in jeopardy

He had always been a loose gnat, a disinterested operative whose boss could trust to get the job done. And for 20 years that brief discretion had made Alan Fiers one of the Central Intelligence Agency's mavericks. Promoted in 1984 to head the CIA's Central American task force, he was taken stock to discover that while House was pro-Communist, the CIA was pro-Vietnam. Fiers' main role was to "steer" the CIA's main role. But when the Iran-contra scandal broke in 1986, Fiers kept his thoughts to himself. "I could have been more forthcoming," he later told congressional investigators, "but I frankly was not going to be the first person to step up and do it."

during which he collected his thoughts both with politicians and the media. Fiers was again among the same thing: what did Gates know about the Iran and contra arms deals, and when did he know it?

Last week, in the light of Fiers' testimony, those questions took on new urgency. Most damaging was a Fiers confession contained in an 11-page statement that accompanied a 30-minute public plea. Senior CIA officials, he admitted, had learned that former National Security Council aide Oliver North was using profits from illegal Iranian arms deals to fund the Nicaraguan contra at least four months before



Gates with Bush, convincing questions about the Iran-contra affair

this scandal broke public in Nov. '86, 1986. Testifying that day before the Senate select committee on intelligence—the same committee scheduled to review Gates' nomination—Fiers told senators that "the first I knew of it was an OIR today." But in fact, as Fiers admitted last week, North had told him about the diversion that summer. And Fiers, in turn, had reported it to his two immediate superiors, including the deputy director of operations.

At 47, after a 28-year career as a CIA analyst, Gates couldn't be promoted, although also the most experienced, director of the agency's 44-year history. But four years after he was forced to withdraw his nomination to succeed former CIA director William Casey, who died of brain cancer in 1983, Gates' lifelong ambition appears to be endangered again by the same agency that dislodged him twice in February, 1987. Despite two years as deputy to Bush's official security adviser, Brent Scowcroft,

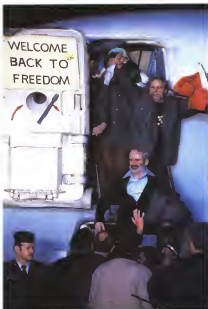
placed in that position in early October, 1986—exactly two months before the scandal broke. Fiers' concerns had mounted over the following weeks after a New York City of broker named Roy Furman wanted his old friend Casey find two Canadian executives in the Iranian scheme—Richard Hill, then, hotel owner, and Ernest Miller and former Toronto accountant Donald Fraser—were determined to expose the diversion unless they got their money back immediately. But Gates told the Senate committee that he never took those reports from a usually trusted subordinate seriously. "I regarded what this information I had as worrisome," he testified at the time, "but extraordinarily silly."

Among the senators who took furor objection to that disclaimer four years ago was New Jersey Democrat Bill Bradley, who accused Gates of the same so that Fiers was confined to investigation, with no question. Last week, Bradley said that Fiers' plea brought his only acknowledgment to opportunity to Gates' nomination. "Clearly, it says that people believe Mr. Gates and share Mr. Gates' views," Bradley said. "There are questions of his integrity, of his conduct with Congress over the years, and his judgment."

As the nomination appeared increasingly jeopardized, the White House stepped up pressure on the committee to hasten hearings for a candidate who was as close to Bush as that. The vice-president to twice lose as an deputy CIA director at 1986. "Last night I think it's the American way to bring a good man down by rumor and innuendo," an exasperated Bush told reporters at his vacation home at Kennebunkport, Me. But Senate intelligence committee chairman David Boren, who had previously endorsed the nomination, avowed

that the confirmation hearings, tentatively scheduled to open this week, would be postponed, perhaps until September. The delay looks like it's the Bush, whose own role in the Iran-contra affair has recently come under closer scrutiny. Among the issues that investigators want to explore with Fiers was how deeply Bush's liaison-office adviser, Donald Gregg, was involved in efforts to send the profits from the Iran-contra hearings to Bush's ambassador to South Korea, Gregg, a former senior CIA operations official, provided a letter in which he claimed that his secretary's notion of a meeting for "outside review" must have been a spelling error. Clearly, he testified, the notion "spelled correctly."

The Bush, the evidence is mounting that he was going to strong off during the 1986 election campaign coincides with a new round of accusations about his participation in an even



Former U.S. hostages arriving in Germany from Iran in 1981: suspicions

more controversy. According to contradictory claims by a rising parade of self-confessed international arms dealers who have surfaced in news reports, Bush may have played a key role in secret meetings in Europe during the final months of the 1980 election campaign. It was, they charge, that Republicans can now credibly say that representatives of the Iranian government, in secret talks about the fate of 52 American hostages held in Tehran.

Rumors about those alleged meetings, which were apparently designed to block any

possibility that President Jimmy Carter might negotiate a so-called October surprise by winning the *American* release just before the election, surfaced shortly after the hostages' casually told interviews—only months after Ronald Reagan had been sworn in as President in January, 1981. But the suspense took its toll on October 15 of this year: writing a *New York Times* story, Gary Salt, an acknowledged expert on Iran who served on Carter's National Security Council, chronicled how his investigations for a book had convinced him

that there were words of truth in the charges. Salt's article sparked demands for a full government inquiry. Last week, two months after authorizing congressional officials to begin an informal investigation, House Speaker Thomas Pledge said that he was moving towards calling for a formal inquiry. The country's press has provided wide details from Bush. But one of the witnesses likely to appear before such a panel is a mysterious former Israeli intelligence official named Ari Ben-Menashe, who has accused both Bush and Gates of taking part in a series of similar plots over the past decade. Among the charges, that both Bush and Gates attended a key meeting with Iranian officials in Paris in October, 1980, aimed at delaying the hostages' release.

For conspiracy theorists, last week's developments proved heavy fare. But analysts was Bush more often than the 34-year-old team of special prosecutor Lawrence Walsh. Fiers' unapologetic co-operation has breathed new life into their 41-year-old investigation of the Iran-contra affair. Since Walsh's appointment in December, 1986, he has secured convictions in guilty pleas from eight of the affair's key participants. But three of the convictions, including that of former national security adviser John Poindexter, are now under appeal. And his most celebrated victory, against North in May, 1986, on three counts of destroying documents, accepting ineligibility and obstructing Congress, was overturned last year by a three-judge appeals panel.

In fact, when the Supreme Court declined to review the North case in May, some leading congressional Republicans promised Walsh to step up an inquiry that has already cost taxpayers more than \$20 million. And after a succession of relatively unproductive investigations, Walsh issued a statement that he was in the midst of preparing his final report. But Fiers' promised co-operation has clearly opened up new opportunities for investigation. Said one Walsh aide: "It's a real breakthrough, the first we've gotten really."

Ironically, that breakthrough came thanks to the man who has been Walsh's fiercest critic: Oliver North. Despite his public criticism of the special prosecutor, Bush has repeatedly turned to a friend just converted by Walsh over the past six months. And sources close to Walsh's office have said that it was his testimony that finally forced Fiers to come clean about his role in the CIA's role in the scandal that refuses to die.

For Fiers, it ought to be as a surprise to discover that North turned out to be his enemy. In 1985, he told congressional investigators that he was the way of the Iranian crime whom he had seen "only last and not know with the facts." But he also acknowledged that "there was a lot of fact as what he said, too." Last week, as Fiers admitted that he, too, had played last and loose with the facts, he may not have been the only man at Washington whom those words would come back to haunt.

MARCUS MCKINLEY in Washington

WHAT KIND OF RECOVERY?

CANADA'S ECONOMY IS ON THE REBOUND, BUT SOME INDUSTRIES WILL DO BETTER THAN OTHERS

Now that the Canadian economy seems to be pulling out of the recession, economists and business people are debating another issue—whether the recovery will be weak or strong. Among the optimists is Paul Beaudry, the 42-year-old owner of Canadian Heritage Design Ltd., a small Vancouver firm that makes reproductions of early Canadian postcard art. Last fall, Beaudry's sales virtually dried up, forcing him to cut some prices and lay off five of his 16 full-time employees. "I got the staffing leveled out of me," he recalls, adding that the death of customers last February and March "was really scary." By contrast, Beaudry says that June was one of his best months in years, and July in shipping up quite nicely. "As a result, we plan to rehire a night shift this week and hire two more workers. The turnaround has been dramatic," he adds. "As soon as consumers feel confident about their savings or their credit-card overdrafts, they feel they can go out and spend."

For months now, similar signs of economic expansion have been cropping up across the country. Helped by lower interest rates, sales of new and existing houses rose sharply this spring in many cities—a clear signal that consumers were beginning to shrug off the worst effects of the slowdown. Meanwhile, Statistics Canada says that the country's gross domestic product jumped by 0.9 per cent in April, the first significant increase since the recession began in the second quarter of 1990. But in spite of those positive signs, economists are

still far from unanimous in predicting the strength and duration of the upturn. They also realize that while some sectors of the economy appear likely to enjoy strong growth during the rest of 1991 and 1992, others will see little or no improvement. Decisions how to shape policy therefore at the C. D. Howe Institute, a Toronto-based economic think tank, "The recovery wasn't homogeneous—and the recovery won't be, either."

One vital area that is unlikely to show much improvement during the next year is unemployment. Nationally, the unemployment rate in June stood at 10.5 per cent, up from 10.3 per cent in May. Even with a recovery, most forecasters say, the rate will probably remain above 10 per cent until late 1992. "Normally, people who were laid off get reemployed at the end of a cycle," says Maureen Parsons, chief economist at Toronto for the international management consulting firm Coopers & Lybrand. "But this time, some very long employers are still restructuring." For unemployment to ease, she adds, "a lot of small businesses have to increase their hiring enough to offset the negative effect."



Another major obstacle to a strong recovery is the current high level of debt, not only among consumers, but among corporations and governments—some of which are willing to avoid major new spending programs. "We really can't expect a credit-led recovery," says Edward Beaudry, chief economist for the Royal Bank of Canada. For its part, the federal government says that in order to avoid increasing its \$38.5-billion

Furnace at Steelco's Nantawaka, Ont., steelworks: hotter and heavier

growth rates in 1992 would range from two per cent in Prince Edward Island to 3.4 per cent in Newfoundland. In the latter case, the bank said, most of the growth will be caused by the \$5.3-billion tilt at oil-drillers of project, which will help the local construction and commercial services industries.

The recovery's impact on individual sectors of the economy will be even more mixed. The outlook for some of them:

Housing and construction: Most analysts expect mortgage interest rates to remain relatively stable for the rest of the year, attracting first-time buyers into the market while allowing others to trade up. But although sales of new and existing houses are continuing to rise, few experts predict a similar increase in prices. For one thing, the number of unsold new homes across the country now stands at 23,000, its highest level since June, 1990. And according to William Stephens, a Brampton, Ont., real estate agent who is president of the Canadian Real Estate Association, almost all of the people buying houses now are doing so for their own use, rather than as an investment.

"There are no sports of speculative buying as there was in the 1980s," he says. In contrast, new residential construction is still aimed at recreation. The biggest problem is a surplus of office space in most large cities created by a construction boom in the late 1980s. In addition, many large corporations are taking back on capital spending until the recovery picks up steam. John Hillwell, president of

the Canadian Construction Association, says that he expects no significant improvement until 1992. But he adds, "We are looking forward to good years by the middle of the decade, particularly in resource-based products."

Energy: With the economy as a whole showing signs of life, demand for oil and natural gas is sure to pick up. But few analysts in the Alberta Oil Patch expect a boom. They add that a worldwide oil glut is likely to keep the benchmark price for a barrel of West Texas intermediate crude around the \$20/\$18 mark for several years. Moreover, the price agreed between light and heavy grades of crude oil has increased in the past year, forcing Canadian producers of the lower-quality oil. Says Michael Gohert, managing director of research for Calgary-based investment dealer Peters & Co. Ltd. "There are probably more tough times ahead for the oil industry."

The natural gas industry also has been hit by low prices and excess supplies. But the completion of the \$2.4-billion Inuvik gas pipeline from Alberta to eastern Ontario in order to serve the northeastern United States by November, 1992, should boost exports. Some gas industry leaders also expect to benefit from the increasing public concern for the environment.

Retailing: The yearlong economic slowdown has left consumers with plenty of post-up depressed. But until the unemployment rate drops significantly, most shoppers will likely continue to restrain their purchases. Other problems include cross-border shipping the

FIGHTING BACK

Challenged by its own domestic airline, "high-handed and cautious" way," Robert Campbell filed a \$100-million counterclaim against Toronto-based Canwest Corp. The former president of the tortious development company is claiming damages and lost wages and benefits in response to a Canwest Corp. suit against him for about \$15 million in cash and for the return of property.

END OF AN ERA

Pan American World Airways Inc., for decades one of the world's major airlines, will exit the European market, along with its East Coast shuttle service, on Delta Air Lines Inc. for \$300 million. Analysts predicted that Pan Am, which filed for bankruptcy reorganization in January, would likely not survive without its transatlantic operations, since it controls just two per cent of the domestic U.S. market.

BREAKING THE LOGJAM

The executive committee of the European Community approved a new proposal on reducing agricultural subsidies that could remove negotiations on lowering international trade barriers. The four-year-old Uruguay Round of trade talks stalled last December after the United States and other free traders demanded cuts in EC subsidies to its farmers. The new proposal must still be approved by the community's 12 member states.

A POSSIBLE KNOCKOUT

The Ontario government turned down the latest proposal to save 3,000 jobs at Stoney Falls Power & Paper Co., the largest employer in Kapuskasing, Ont. The last bid, Kimberly-Clark Corp., which won 50.5 per cent of the company, offered to give the unemployed plant, the town of Stoney Falls has 15,000 jobs. But the province's new government dismissed the proposal, saying that it was unfair to a worker beyond that that the province had already rejected.

THE ULTIMATE SILENT PITCH

A spokesman for Ford Motor Co. confirmed that his company conducted a "business study" of weaker rival Chrysler Corp., but he declined to comment on whether merger talks were actually held. Published reports said that Chrysler chairman Lee Iacocca had to answer Ford in acquiring his company. According to the reports, after months of consultation Ford decided in February not to make a bid.

assembly-owned Gaults and Services Inc. and the polycarbonate vinyl inventory managed by Ottawa and several of the provinces. "Consumers are running up a steep slope just to stay in the street position," says Leonard Kallus, a Toronto-based retail analyst.

On the larger issue, retailers expect a fundamental shift in consumer attitudes. As the baby boom generation approaches middle age, the needs and priorities of its members have changed. "These changes have rendered the excitement of the 1960s obsolete," says Robert Pichler, a Toronto-based advertising executive who specializes in retail analysis.

Manufacturing: About 250,000 manufacturing jobs disappeared during the recession, most of them in other regions. Indeed, the vibrant in Ontario's manufacturing sector will likely continue to fuel the recovery. Says Patrick, at Cooper & Lybrand, "If Canadian manufacturers continue to throw up their hands and move to Buffalo, Tennessee or Korea, we'll have a problem for another five years."

On the positive side, the critical automotive industry is already picking up speed. Two of the largest spots in the North American car industry are in Canada: engines and production are up sharply at Chrysler's plant in Windsor, Ont., which makes minivans, and at Ford's plant in St. Thomas, Ont., which produces a new line of full-sized Ford and Mercury sedans that are experiencing robust sales.

Fewer red strings: The upturn in the North American housing market has given a strong boost to B.C. lumber producers. But Quebec's forestry sector, which is heavily dependent on aspen/pine sales in the United States, will recover more slowly. Analysts say that the demand for paper will see real year as a result of a gradual strengthening of U.S. advertising media.

As in the forestry industry, Canada's major mining and metal companies slumped their profits during the 1980s and as new projects came on effectively in the North American market. Improved demand from pipeline companies and automakers is already helping some

minerals, while demand for steel is strong. Says Frederick Tolson, chairman and chief executive officer of Stelco Inc. of Toronto, Canada's second-largest steel producer: "The automakers have kept their inventories at such low levels that they've had to order again."

Financial services: Banks and trust companies, many of which suffered unusually high loan losses during the recession, have been



Beispiel: "Tomorrow has been dramatic"

helped by the upturn in the real estate market. Meanwhile, the overall improvement in the economy should benefit companies that provide services to business, such as computer software designers and accountants' firms.

Tax: The hotel and restaurant industry on the other hand can expect only a modest improvement. Companies that have emerged from the recession with high debt loads and strained balance sheets are unlikely to ease their existing restrictions on executive travel during the early stages of the recovery.

Agriculture and fishing: Although world prices have been soft, western farmers reported near record crop yields in 1990. But this year, the Soviet economy is in a tailspin, which should depress demand for Canadian wheat. Higher prices rest on a broad-based increase in international trade talks in Geneva aimed at reducing or eliminating farm subsidies. An agreement would drive up production of wheat in Europe and the United States, but in holding down prices.

At the same time, federal quotas on cod fishing will depress catches in the West Coast fishery. On the West Coast, the salmon industry is still reeling from a worldwide surplus and sharply lower prices. Fishermen in Nova Scotia are also suffering from an overabundance of lobsters and reduced demand by the northeastern United States because of the economic slowdown.

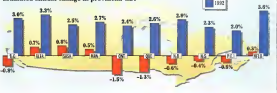
Despite the recession across the country and in specific industries, the outlook for the economy as a whole appears positive. Indeed, most economists say that the damage suffered during the past year was mild as compared with the 1981-1982 recession. After adjusting for inflation, the country's GDP shrank by 2.8 per cent between the beginning of 1990 and the end of the first quarter of 1991—where the downturn likely ended.

compared with a 5.3-per-cent drop in the last recession. Forecaster Michael Beaulieu, for one, says that Canadian businessmen have learned from their past mistakes. "I think they're more comfortable at this point and hence not as timid," he adds. Like his counterparts across the country, Beaulieu says that he is not expecting a 1980s-like boom. But the clouds do look decidedly lifted.

ROSS LAWRENCE AND JOHN DALLY
and BARBARA WICKGREN in Toronto

AN UNEVEN RECOVERY

Estimated annual change in provincial GDP



BUSINESS WATCH



The Liberals plan to revisit their roots

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

At long last, Jean Chrétien has shown some vital signs of political life—he has called for a Liberal thinkers' conference in Agincourt, Que., just west of Montreal.

The format of the meeting will be based squarely on the 1960 Study Conference on National Issues, held at Kingston, Ont., which did so much to resurrect the Liberal party, also then in opposition, under Lester Pearson. It's the first time since he was elected as leader in June 1980, that Chrétien has been willing to expose himself to the unadorned exchanges of those. Those ideas will eventually be translated into policies for a policy convention next February, also based on the platform for the general election expected in 1993.

Four main themes will dominate the discussion: is 300 of the country's best thinkers—mostly outside Liberals or not—will be invited. The first forum will be as the role of Canada's global partners in the 1990s, which will examine the conditions that secure the status of Liberal power in Canada, and how policy issues can be resolved in an increasingly fractured community. A panel on globalization will deal with the impact on the Canadian economy of free trade with the United States, the 1994 renegotiation of NAFTA, the rise of the Pacific Rim and related issues. Another discussion, under the vague heading of "Institutions," will tackle reform of the Senate and House of Commons, as well as examining the future of such worthy but troubled Canadian institutions as the CBC and the B.C. Supreme Court and commissions will round out the politically vaguely worded agenda, designed to give everybody lots of debating room.

The meeting is being billed as a nonpartisan event meant to bring together non-Conservative, non-liberalist thinkers, but the purpose is to provide the Liberals with some badly needed policy momentum. Everyone concerned with the conference keeps using the 1960 Kingston precedent as their

The party has settled into a mindless rut under Chrétien, and it will take more than a good conference to move them out of it

inspiration, though only Senator Keith Dewar and a handful of Chrétien's other advisers were actually there. Having attended the Kingston

meeting itself, I can see its attraction—as well as its danger—for today's Liberal party. The Kingston conference was held against a background of political turmoil and growing dissatisfaction with the then-ruling prime minister, John Diefenbaker. Pearson, who had just chosen party leader two years previously, had experienced a very difficult, with belated success in the Senate of Canada and a party which, having given up power in 1957 after a 22-year run, didn't know how to behave in opposition.

This language conference was organized mainly by Mitchell Sharp, then a Toronto-based vice-president of Bankers Trust Co. and Power Co. Ltd. Today's Bronson Ltd., who had been a deputy minister of trade and commerce in Ottawa before being defeated by Diefenbaker. Later, he would serve Pearson as minister of finance and then external affairs. Sharp, who has been Chrétien's assistant since Chrétien became his parliamentary secretary in 1986, is also helping to organize the Agincourt think-tank. He believes that getting thoughtful new recruits for the

party through such an event is as important as getting new ideas. That was one of the main features of Kingston. A survey I did in 1964 showed that 48 of the 196 men and women who attended were later named to senior Liberal appointments.

The meetings can only provide new blood for the party, but also moved its centre of ideological gravity decisively to the left. In his speech, "Toronto's Philosophy of Social Security," Tom Kent, former editor of the *Windsor Free Press* and soon to become Pearson's chief policy adviser, set out most of the theoretical ideas that catapulted the Liberals back into office.

Two of the Kingston delegates from Quebec went to become important in Canadian history: Jean Marchand, then president of the Quebec-based Confederation of National Trade Unions and attending his first Liberal meeting, made some stirring remarks that left their effect on Pearson. As prime minister, he visited Marchand into his cabinet, granted him almost unprecedented powers and eventually paid him (instead of Pierre Trudeau) as his successor.

Also there was Maurice Lamontagne, a Harvard-trained economist who was Pearson's chief Quebec adviser. "The ultimate objective of economic activity is the economic well-being of the citizen," Lamontagne stated in his speech, going against the economic orthodoxy of his time.

Kingston worked because it gave voice to a new generation of small-Liberals who could be drafted into the party because they had faith that Pearson was the kind of leader who could take these ideas, march into a hotly-battled world with them and eventually make them come true.

The present leader has yet to win that kind of faith from his followers—to demonstrate that he can grasp the reins, turn it into policy and translate it into action. The Liberal party has settled into a campaign rut since Jean Chrétien took over, and it will take more than a good conference to move him—and the party—out of it.

The party's strategists are hoping to fight the next election mainly as economic rather than a national unity platform. They hope to revive the old slogan that "Tony means hard times" and argue once another with the story of how Louis St. Laurent and William Lyon Mackenzie King, Pearson's predecessors, used it to kill their opponents for a generation.

The words date back to the time when R.B. Bennett, a hard-rock Tory from Calgary, was Canada's prime minister for the worst (1930-1935) of the Depression years. At one election rally, when St. Laurent repeated the slogan, pointing out that, conversely, Liberal leaders were good ones, a broker yelled out, "It's a coincidence!" The Prime Minister, who had earned his nickname Uncle Louis for being kind to political enemies, smiled and replied, "Ah, yes, my friend, but which coincidence would you rather have?"

The world has changed since the Liberals' golden years, and a broker yelling out, "It's a coincidence!" that the Liberals are back again, that at least they're starting to think again, and in today's political climate, that's great news.

Plans gone awry

A financial crisis strikes Arthur Erickson

The architectural community in Los Angeles lashed out with the reports of some of its most distinguished members Arthur Erickson, the Canadian-born designer of such landmarks as Toronto's Ryk Thomson Hall and Canada's embassy in Washington, had been forced to close his Los Angeles office on the basis of overwhelming debts. At the time, Erickson was in Vancouver, his home town and the site of his only remaining office. In being forced to shut down all his California projects, Erickson also left behind a collective of angry creditors, several of whom accused the much-lauded architect of financial mismanagement and living beyond his means. For his part, Erickson told *Architectural Record* that his problems stemmed from poor financial advice. But he acknowledged that he himself bore ultimate responsibility for the collapse of the Los Angeles operation. He added: "We just did not have the cash flow to keep up."

The sudden closure of Erickson's Los Angeles office is the latest in a series of financial problems for the 61-year-old architect. Although clients and colleagues praise him as one of the world's most talented designers, Erickson says that he is a poor manager of his own business affairs. In 1984, former General's wedding and best-friend business leaders, including General Beak and Colin Weston, formed a private corporation, Arthur Erickson Capital Group Ltd., to help the architect avoid financial difficulties. He ran into problems with accounting projects in the Middle East and Canada. But despite their efforts, Erickson closed his Toronto office in the fall of 1988, leaving a trail of unhappy creditors, and began to devote most of his attention to his California practice, which he founded in 1961.

But Erickson's financial problems continued after he moved to Los Angeles. In California, he was responsible for designing the San Diego Convention Center, which opened a noisy 1990, two-level structure in Los Angeles and the second of a series of office expansion projects in California. Plus—the largest state estate development in Los Angeles. As recently as 1988, Erickson's office in west Los Angeles employed as many as 40 architects, and busi-

ness was brisk. But when the recession hit, the firm's revenues plummeted. And Erickson "I missed a year ago that new work was not coming in." Now, all the work that Erickson began in California is to be completed by other architectural firms. In Canada, the Vancouver office has several ongoing projects.



Erickson in Ryk Thomson Hall. 'Toothily optimistic'

Erickson finally abandoned his stylish Los Angeles office on June 5, a deadline set by his landlord after Erickson failed to pay his back rent. He left the \$118,000 monthly premises "It looked like someone left a white and said 'Stop work—go home.'" said Joseph Polio, a partner in a Los Angeles mechanical-engineering consulting firm. Hoffman and Luber. His

firm claims to have earned \$10,000 in 1990. Erickson for consulting work done on two projects in the Los Angeles area. Polio said that he visited the architect's office after discovering that Erickson's telephone had been disconnected. The office was unlocked, he added, with architectural drawings and blueprints scattered on the desks.

Another associate, San Diego literary design consultant Paul Walls, says that Erickson owes him "lots of things." Added Walls, who has to do about what he does about the matter: "It is such a good architect. It is a shame that he cannot pull it all together."

Last week, Erickson said that he hopes to arrange a merger or association with another firm of U.S. architects so that he can continue his operations in Los Angeles. But at least one company that stated the possibility of such a merger declined to drop the architect's discovery that Erickson's firm used money to the U.S. Internal Revenue Service. "They weren't paying their withholding taxes," said Leo McDermott, treasurer of the Toronto-based Erickson International Group. Erickson and McDermott. At the time, McDermott said, his company had been excited about the prospect of a merger with such a prominent designer. But, he added, after hiring Erickson's own associates to study the firm's finances, "we kind of got turned off." McDermott and the Shropshire Building Group, an advanced Erickson \$50,000 in April so that he could meet his payroll. McDermott: "It is money gone, as far as we are concerned."

For his part, Erickson said that he has since paid the withholding taxes. He also dismissed suggestions from several of his former associates that his financial problems resulted from his lavish lifestyle. Under the terms of the firm's partnership agreement, he said, his travel and business associates, including designer Frederick Kieser, was entitled to a monthly management fee, instead of a salary, equal to 10 percent of the firm's gross billings. Erickson says that he and Kieser together received about \$35,000 a month from the company, adding that his other partners in the firm knew that virtually all of the money would go towards the pair's personal expenses, including luxury cars, expensive meals at restaurants and a Malibu home that costed for \$112,000 a month. "My attitude was that we were supposed to become part of the company," Erickson added.

According to the mortgagee's report, his problem arises from the inevitable clash of dreams with reality. "You are always designing that things will come in, and you tend to be totally optimistic," he said. But for the first time, Erickson's dreamy optimism has forced him back to the drawing board.

ANNE GREGORY in Los Angeles



Last week's eclipse: Watson (below) looking for clues about how the sun works

SCIENCE

A glimpse of heaven

The sun's corona blazed in a darkened sky

It was an event so rare in nature that some scientists and curious laymen watched thousands of miles to ports along Mexico's Baja peninsula to watch. Others viewed last week's eclipse of the sun in Hawaii after arriving by aircraft on aboard luxury cruise ships. Altogether, millions of people, including at least 200,000 visitors from scores of countries, watched from Hawaii to Brazil as the largest and most spectacular solar eclipse of the century barely glancing across parts of the world's most desolate on July 11. "It was an incredibly rare and spectacular," said Michael Watson, a Toronto lawyer and amateur astronomer who led 150 members of the Royal Astronomical Society of Canada to Baja for the eclipse. "I have never seen anything like it."

During a period in which the eclipse was visible in the best viewing locations for a maximum of six minutes and 54 seconds, the moon passed between the Earth and the sun, causing the shadow of the moon to blot out the sun's light. In an area stretching from Hawaii through Baja and over mainland Mexico, south through Latin America and Brazil, darkness descended. In some areas on the path of the

eclipse, birds grew silent and animals acted as though night had fallen. It was the longest total eclipse of the sun since 1933; there will not be another to equal it until the year 2132. In most parts of the United States and Canada, the event that some enthusiasts called "the eclipse of the millennium" was seen as partial, typically, in the cloudy sky over Vancouver, only 15 percent of the sun was obscured.

Watching from one of the locations where the eclipse could be seen most completely, scientists at Hawaii's Mauna Kea Observatory aimed seven telescopes and dozens of cameras on the sun in the hope of gathering scientific data that may answer fundamental questions about the sun's chemistry. Said David Naylor, a professor of physics at Alberta's University of Lethbridge and one of two Canadian scientists who saw the eclipse from Mauna Kea. "It was an absolute miracle that the path of the eclipse passed right overhead of the best observing site on Earth." For those standing directly beneath the sun, or dark more part of the moon's shadow, the sun's corona, outer atmosphere, blazed in a darkened sky. Added Naylor: "This is a once-in-three-tho-



Ken. "It was an absolute miracle that the path of the eclipse passed right overhead of the best observing site on Earth." For those standing directly beneath the sun, or dark more part of the moon's shadow, the sun's corona, outer atmosphere, blazed in a darkened sky. Added Naylor: "This is a once-in-three-tho-

ness phenomenon." But at the end, scientists said, the less-than-perfect weather conditions somewhat obscured the eclipse.

Scientists said that few events in nature surpass the eerie effect of a total solar eclipse. About once every 16 months, the moon occasionally passes between the sun and the Earth, blocking the sun's rays. But such eclipses last only seconds and are visible only on some parts of the Earth's surface. What made last week's eclipse unusual was that the moon was exceptionally close to the Earth and the Earth was at its farthest point from the sun. As a result, the eclipse was visible for an unusually long time.

Solar eclipses have inspired awe and terror since the dawn of civilization. Indeed, the word eclipse is derived from the Greek word for shadowing, reflecting an ancient fear that the sun might swallow Earth. As far back as 1600 B.C., Babylonian astronomers discovered how to predict accurately when the moon would obscure the sun. Hindu records show that an eclipse of the sun in 545 B.C. inspired such fear among warring Medes and Lybians in what is now Turkey that they agreed to make peace.

Over the centuries, observations of solar eclipses have produced important scientific results. During an eclipse in 1686, the English scientist Thomas Digges discovered the sun's corona, which makes up a large part of the sun's burning mass of gases. Starting in 1919, scientists began examining sunlight patterns during solar eclipses in an effort to prove Albert Einstein's theory of relativity. More generally, the blurring of stellar star light during an eclipse allows scientists to estimate the sun's activity and composition of the star that contains life on Earth. Said Naylor: "We have basically put a few seconds to get an enormous amount of information."

At researchers said that data gathered during the latest eclipse may confirm suspicions about the changing diameter of the sun, which is believed to be 4.5 billion years old and slowly decreasing. For that part, American and Mexican scientists launched a small rocket 80 miles into the atmosphere during the eclipse from Santiago Teacoma, about 100 km north of Guadalajara along the Pacific coast. Although the \$184,000 mission was supposed to record information about solar particles, it failed because of technical difficulties.

Most of those gathered for the century's most spectacular celestial event said that they were awestruck by the eclipse. Said Andrew Hanson, a Toronto astronomer who saw the eclipse in Baja California, Mexico. "It makes you feel a part of the universe." Added Watson, who saw his first eclipse from Quebec's Gaspé Peninsula in 1973. "You really get hooked by these astronomical events." Clearly, for scientists, last week's celestial fix was truly a glimpse of heaven.

DIANE BRADY with JAMES DEACON in Toronto

A BEASTLY BATHING BEAUTY

Comedian Jie Correy is, as he says, "the white guy" on Fox TV's comedy show *In Living Color*. One of the perks of the job, adds Correy, is wearing a bikini when he plays female bodybuilder Vena de Mils. Correy, 26, who grew up in Newmarket, Ont., near Toronto, is a versatile actor who is now playing a bikini sheep on in a Fox TV movie drama and will be in Toronto next month to shoot a TV comedy special. But he says that his particularly relaxing playing de Mils. Said Correy: "My daughter will have something to live down when she grows up."

A cowboy's life

Singer-songwriter Ian Tyson knows from whence he sings. Tyson, who with his eventual wife, Sylvia Fricker, formed the 1960s folk duo Ian and Sylvia, has lived on his 150-acre ranch 70 km northwest of Calgary for more than 30 years. And his past five albums have all been about what he calls "cowboy culture." The latest,



Tyson: "a lifestyle that's gone"

And Here There Lived, includes songs inspired by the view from his ranch. In discussion with cutting-horn competition and Alberta weather. The info comes from a video about going at stars from another way, on the album, the classic flower on the Range. Said Tyson, an answer to her next volume. *Tyler's Blues*, 12.

"It's a strange odd thing about a lifestyle that's gone." Tyson, 57, added, "If you live out in the country, not far enough so that pollution and the glow of the city and it's visible, you can walk out on your porch and you are surrounded by the stars. You really are amazed. Millions of Canadians no longer see that."

EARLY TO BED,
EARLY TO RISE

We rise, says Pamela Wallin, gets used to the hours. But Wallin, who last week was appointed co-host of CTV's morning news show, *Canada AM*, admits: "It's a great vehicle—2½ hours of live TV." Wallin, who has been filling in as co-host since May, also co-hosted the show from 1981 until 1985. Since 1988, she has served as CTV's national affairs correspondent and weekend news anchor. Said Wallin, 38, of her job's major demands: "I have to get up at 3:45. My husband and I leave each other news and date on weekends."



Wallin: a great vehicle—despite weekend dates



Sorkin: no burping boys—please

TOO CLEVER BY HALF

Comed artist Sorkin says that act's popular home-video show, *America's Funniest People*, is just always a barrel of laughs. But at least, says Sorkin, he is also writing a screenplay for director Barry Levinson. *Funniest People* is not her only job. "Hosting is pretty easy, grinning and smiling a lot," said Sorkin, 34, "and I enjoy it when people who are actually talented appear. But little boys burping the alphabet—get me out of there." Added Sorkin: "I also don't appreciate it when people recognize me and decide to show me their Walkman Jack-in-the-box."

How one plays
the game

Canadiana have a reputation for country, and team player Jillie Hetherington proved herself an exception last week. At the *Smile! National* tournament in Mississauga, Ont., 32½-year-old veteran Hetherington, 26, could have won a match against seeded Melanie Bernard, 18. A judge ruled that Bernard's smug look on her match point was out of bounds. But Hetherington called the foul in and broke the match to Bernard. Said Hetherington: "It may have been a bad decision. Because, well, but I don't think I could have lived with myself." A leader, greater nation.



Purple Heart: at the Power Plant, Tod belies her originality and mordant humor

ART

Eloquent ambiguity

Joanne Tod's paintings provoke thought

When Joanne Tod was a student at the Ontario College of Art in the early 1970s, painting was a decidedly unfashionable activity. Making art with a video camera, or by attaching rods to a gallery floor—that was fashionable. And for those who felt compelled to paint, there was always abstract art. But after large canvases, which often addressed human social issues, Tod permitted to depicting subjects realistically. Since the 1970s, with aggressive painting has made a comeback—and Tod, now 54, is one of its most celebrated Canadian practitioners. A major exhibition of her work opened recently at Toronto's Power Plant gallery, where it will be on view until Aug. 26. It then travels to Saskatchewan's Mural Art Gallery (Sept. 26 to Nov. 30), the co-organizer of the show with the Power Plant; and to the Winnipeg Art Gallery (Nov. 29 to Feb. 16). The artist says that she does not regret having been out of step in art school. "It was a good experience because it put me in a position to be contrary," said Tod. "I find it really interesting to get myself in opposition to other things."

What is clear from the show, which features 39 large paintings from the past decade, is that Tod's work resonates with opposition to serious, serious and absolutist thinking. Those topics have led many other artists into the mire of debate. But Tod has confronted such issues with engaging originality and, on occasion,



momentous human institutions including the National Gallery of Canada and the Vancouver Art Gallery have acquired her work. And now she is starting to gain recognition abroad: at the fall, some of her paintings, which currently sell for between \$10,000 and \$15,000 each, will be part of a group show at the Thelma Houston Gallery in Paris. Said Mordel curator Bruce Grenville, who put together the current show: "Anyone can be a fish in the pan, but Joanne has been producing very strong, articulate work for 10 years."

A vibrant, affable woman who rode her bicycle to a recent interview with *Maclean's*, Tod revealed that she began drawing and painting during her childhood. Based in Mississauga, Ont., she was the only child of computer technician Andrew Tod and his housewife wife, Georgia Tod. After graduating from the Ontario College of Art in 1974, Tod worked as an assistant at a private gallery for a number of years. But since 1982, she has been able to devote herself to painting full time. The artist now lives in downtown Toronto with Bob Becker, a musician with the award-winning percussion group *Neon*.

While Tod's work has become more complex and less direct over the past decade, one constant has been her use of photographs as the basis for her paintings.

Self Portrait, a 1982 canvas that is perhaps her best-known work, is derived from a 1940s advertisement showing a elegant, formally groomed woman posing on a flight of steps beneath a night sky. Calling the glamorous figure a self-portrait appears to be a simple act of fantasizing—merely for one thing. In yellow letters printed over the figure's dress are the words: "Watch my arm in the color of Kenneth's Saks." That phrase, says Tod: "It is ironic to the state of a woman's role—staring across the dreamy vision, challenging an outdated conception of ideal womanhood without entirely conceding out the image's nostalgically romantic appeal."

In 1983, Tod turned that piercing into a picture within a picture with *Self Portrait*. In the latter work, the earlier painting hangs on the wall of a tasteful dining room. Clearly, the original work has become a commo-

ity, according to be consumed along with dinner. Tod now says that at that point in her career, she worried whether the need to sell paintings would cause her to compromise her work. But over time, she adds, she has leapt from Impression that "it's in my best interest to have the financial autonomy that selling paintings makes possible. I haven't had to take jobs that would take away from my painting time. As a result, I think my product has improved."

By the mid-1990s, Tod was dealing with intimidated galleries in her work. The 1994 canvas *A Diamond Is Forever* shows a well-dressed elderly couple evidently posing for the camera in their own upper-class home—the women's hand rests on a table in a proprietary fashion. The picture would be a typical society portrait, except that the couple is black. And that unexpected element forces viewers to confront their preconceptions about who belongs where in society.

For several years, Tod has been creating diptychs, often depicting couples in her work, which as the whole has become more oblique. Tod says that *People Heart*, a massive (30 feet by 15 feet) 1999 composition, was inspired by the massacre in Beijing's Tiananmen Square two years ago. In the painting, a pair of intricately carved Chinese panels frame a close-up of two traditionally decorated Chinese vases inconspicuously a vertical row of electrons painted in a flat, abstract style bridges a gap between the two vases. And diagonal streaks of magnets past the side panels.

Like much of Tod's work, the painting is a highly personal response to a larger event. Still, Tod, with reference to the artists "Something that struck me was a news report about students throwing cans of paint at the official portraits of Mao." She added that among her own early works had been a series of idealized Mao portraits. The scenes also recall the work of American abstract painter Morris Louis, while the Chinese slide to shape repeatedly used by another, Kenneth Noland. "In referring to those people, I was making a link to my own education, and to when I made those Mao portraits with all this hope and idealism," said the artist. She noted that the construction of the Chinese and the scenes in *People Heart* also suggested a spatial quality and a richness in composition that the image and sets it back to the real thing that happened there—a killing."

While it was Tod's contemplation for a response political regime that inspired *People Heart*, the subject's relationship to all of her lesser paintings is, in particular, the belief in the kind of art that survives not its message without offering its own for dissent or ambiguity. "I have gone through a really vehement political phase," she said, "but I never felt it was trying to be didactic in the sense of saying, 'This is how I feel and that is what is right and that is what you should feel, too.'" Concluding her remarks with a questioning intonation, Tod has a knack for leaving something unsaid.



Karen (left), Sue: a surfer film plunges into the rough waters of machismo

FILMS

Muscle Beach boys

An undercover FBI agent catches a wave

POINT BREAK
Directed by Kathryn Bigelow

At the end, on one morning session of beach music, there can be some telling indications of the times. When Frankie and Annette headed for the sands in the early 1960s, their innocent beach lifestyle captured the era's laid-back spirit. In five more corrupt and provocative decades that followed, the big-screen ocean picked up discarded shells and whales while luring pleasure-seekers to their deaths in the Bermuda Triangle. Now at a time when North American tastes are retreating from the excess of masculinity and going on wilder, more extreme, *Point Break* offers an exercise in beach-basher bonding. The movie's take on machismo is decidedly retrograde, however: the film plunges into the rough waters of machismo with car chases and fistfights, not to mention surfing and skydiving. And for all its thrills and spills, *Point Break* is about as risky as Muscle Beach on a cloudy day.

The story is a variation on the good-cop-bad-cop-with-ladies theme. In this case, the instrument of seduction is a surfboard. The hero, with the unlikely name of Johnny Utah (Toronto-raised Keanu Reeves), is a former football player turned FBI agent who has been assigned to bust a quartet of bank robbers. His crazy partner (Gary Busey) has determined that the criminals, who have pulled off 27 heists in three years, are surfers. Johnny promptly

goes undercover, putting on a wet suit and learning to ride the waves with the help of one surfer, guy Tyler (Liam Neeson). They become lovers, but their romance is nothing compared to Johnny's fascination with the mysteriously oriented Bodhi (Patrick Swayze), a surfing guru who speaks such profundities as "It's a killer rash."

Bodhi has figured out that bank robbery offers one of the biggest money games and he and his friends turn out to be the experts. A happy coincidence, Bodhi explains his life of crime as "a vicious system, the system that kills the human spirit." Because Johnny is based a idiot, it only with his brain-fucking boss (Thomas La Gorce), he cannot bring himself to surrender his surfing old. Instead, the FBI agent goes everything with the robbers. And as a particularly hairy sequence, they go hands to make a circle in the air.

That cosmic bonding is supposed to explain Johnny's continuing resistance to get his oats during the final third of *Point Break*. By that point, the movie's intense pace and delirious dialogue have become wearing. It is unfair to blame Reeves and Swayze for the fact that their characters are ciphers—the real culprits are director Kathryn Bigelow and screenwriter W. Peter Hill. At one point, Bodhi describes one of his more vicious robberies as being the "gift of blackness." The same is true of *Point Break* itself.

Patricia Bilecky

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Mindful of manners

An author explores the rites of the table

THE RITUALS OF DINNER: THE ORIGINS, EVOLUTION, ECCENTRICITIES AND MEANING OF TABLE MANNERS
By Margaret Visser
(Alcove/Collins, 432 pages, \$26.95)

A s a literature title for Margaret Visser's new book might be *Keeping You Always Wondered to Know About Table Manners* (that *How Glad You Didn't Ask*! Indeed, much of *The Rituals of Dinner* is timorously unapologetic. A follow-up to her acclaimed first excursion into food lore, *Much Depends on Dinner* (1980), Visser's latest book opens with a detailed treatise on cannibalism practices among the Aztecs in 16th-century Mexico, the ancient Maoris in New Zealand and the turquoise Carib Indians of Brazil. According to Visser, "people have indeed been lured to pots, and roasted by spit, rack or exposure to an open fire. They have also been steamed-baked, cooked on preheated rocks and in

earth ovens, smoked, decomposed first, dried, powdered, preserved, stuffed into bladders and then placed in the ovens, their bones burned to ashes and stirred into many kinds of soups, jellies and mushes." From there, the author moves to a lengthy discussion of the ritual sacrifice of animals and a discussion of the etiquette of vomiting.

Visser, who regularly explores the anthropology of everyday life in spots on CBC Radio's *Morningstar* and in columns for *Saturday Night* magazine, has in her new book managed to sliver table manners into a smattering of cosmic experience. A fundamental principle running through all societies, she argues (in the sense that a meal "involves and progresses in an entirely fashion, only a tale, symbolical life, society, the cosmos, paradise." Visser moves briskly from Victorian dining rooms to pre-revolutionary Chinese banquets to Sunday dinners in rural Canada. Her culinary tour proceeds as a detouring of somewhat disorderly

beliefs that is reminiscent of the exorcismists at a chaotic family dinner.

The book is organized around two central chapters that examine the formal dinner party. At the onset progresses, from the ritual crossing of the threshold until the final ascent of dessert disappearers. Visser examines the origins and meanings of details that most people take for granted. On why candles are a mainstay at formal dinners, she writes "For millennia, we set round a fire to eat, and fires remain for us symbolic of the group which gathers round for light and warmth." She covers such topics as the use of table linen and observes that "napkins, in our culture, are to be kept close—a wholly unreasonable requirement in view of the purpose for which napkins were designed as the first place."

Other sections of the book explore the formalities of meals in other cultures and eras. In some societies, people did not use cutlery at all—they wiped their hands in their hair. But the Puritans of New England, Visser writes, thought that it was rude to do so if they had been eating fish. She outlines the elaborate etiquette surrounding the use of Japanese chopsticks, which decrees that diners must never lick or bite them. Only one mouthful of rice is to be taken between every two bites of meat, fish or vegetable. And meanderers do not "fish" their food.

Visser's observations on eating abroad are especially apt and amusing. Writing the author, "Manners, here, suppose gaiety and constraint; conversation is taken care of



Visser: cannibalism, chopsticks and the cosmic significance of dinner candles

by the odds of our being served dinner at all in such circumstances. There is no question of argument, and with very few exceptions, before persons are extraordinarily docile and uncomplaining. They give up space and ceremony believing that this is only her race they are

giving time and ought to be grateful for safety."

Visser's wide-ranging study also explores the impact of religion and superstition on manners. The book contains explanations of the rites associated with Passover and with the

Eucharist, as well as the calls "wastefully the most significance-charged dinner ritual ever devised." And she discusses the 19th-century Puritan phenomenon of "household"—hired men who "waited at least between 5 and 9 p.m. every night all dressed up and ready to step into the breach when any dinner party threatened suddenly to number 13."

The Rituals of Dinner is full of fascinating tidbits that inform those who are fun and provocative. At one point, Visser reminds diners that anyone who vents perfume at a gourmet dinner "has no idea how to behave—perhaps fights the bouquet of the wine." But consumed in one sitting, the book reads like an elaborate and eclectic menu that, instead of transcending, actually curbs the appetite with the sheer volume of material. And although Visser's prose is light and accessible, her claims are at times grandiose. The notion that candles are related tobers in personae, but when she goes on to say that they represent "spaces of time for us: a lifetime, with the flame in life itself, fragile but still alight," she probes their cosmic significance too far.

Still, much of the book is delightfully colorful and concrete. Visser offers an anecdote about a Canadian waitress who, while serving a member of the Royal Family, advised "Keep your fork, Duke, there's pie." The story underscores Miss Manners's declaration that "etiquette is not that difficult." Picking up the cosmic is.

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BOOKS

Echoes of murder

Doubts haunt an Indian leader's jailing

On a blustering June morning in 1976, during a daylong battle between native Indians and law enforcement officials on the Pine Ridge reserve near Wounded Knee in South Dakota, a small set of startled agents of the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation and shot each of them in the head. The officers died instantly, but they violent demise set into motion a complex series of events that continues to raise questions about the plight of the American Indian, his status in the U.S. judicial system and the role played by Canadian authorities in the imprisonment of a man whose beliefs by many prominent individuals and human rights organizations is far too sacred. Now, after winning two libel suits that cost his publisher more than \$2 million—the defense was out of the lawsuit and most regrettably in publishing history—American author Peter Matthews has re-released his controversial 1983 book about the event, *In the Spirit of Crazy Horse* (Viking, \$46, pages, 320).

Fueled by an open rage at what he describes as "400 years of betrayal and excesses" by North American courts and politicians in their treatment of Indians, Matthews' hard-hitting and sensationally illustrated tale appears in bookstores one year after the standoff begins between police and Minutemen Warriors at Oka, Que. And Matthews' courtroom victories may represent the beginning of a reversal of the fortunes of American Indian leader Lemmy Pelletier, the dogged hero of *In the Spirit of Crazy Horse*. In 1977, a North Dakota court sentenced Pelletier, now 46, to two consecutive life terms for the shooting deaths of FBI special agents Jack Cole and Ronald Williams on that summer day 35 years ago. Since the verdict, Pelletier has successfully appealed his conviction in U.S. courts. And in 1986, he was taken his case to the Supreme Court of Canada, where Toronto lawyers Clayton Ruby, Frank Adorno and Dennis Merritt argued that, after Pelletier's capture as wanted felon in 1976, the FBI had hidden evidence in its successful efforts to extradite him. The high court ac-

knowledgeed the truth of that allegation—but declined to grant the request for an appeal of Pelletier's extradition.

But now, in addition to Matthews' legal victory and the publication of his book, Pelletier's supporters have other reasons to hope that the imprisoned activist's controversial case will

receive renewed attention. Producer Oliver Stone is in the early stages of directing a four-hour film about his case. And Robert Redford has set a release date of next year for his production company's just-completed documentary, directed by Michael Apted (*Chief Moberg's Daughter*) and tentatively called *Pelletier*. That film will include appearances by several of the activist's most vocal supporters, including Canadian liberal MP Warren Allmand, who in May introduced his fifth private member's bill into Parliament seeking to nullify the extradition proceedings and return Pelletier to Canada.

Meanwhile, a North Dakota court is scheduled to convene on July 29 for an extradition hearing at which Pelletier's U.S. lawyers will

call on witnesses to establish new evidence of wrongdoing in the government's handling of the Pine Ridge investigation and Pelletier's 1977 trial in Fargo, N.D. Among those expected to testify is Judge Paul Dennis, who presided over the earlier trial. Said Frank Browne, co-founder of the Leonard Pelletier Defense Committee (Lepedco), a lobby group based in Scarborough, Ont., and one of several such committees in North America and Europe: "Finally, we are seeing signs of hope."

The history of *In the Spirit of Crazy Horse* reveals that of the story it tells. In 1983, Viking stopped the presses after former South Dakota governor William Janklow and FBI special agent David Price launched their lawsuits. By then, about 30,000 first-edition copies of the book—which now fetch up to \$250 a page—had made it into circulation. The lawsuits against Matthews and Viking sought a total of \$50



Indians commemorating the 1890 massacre at Wounded Knee last year; Pelletier (bottom right)

million in damages for that Janklow, who was the attorney general of South Dakota at the time of Pelletier's trial, claimed that the book had portrayed him as "morally degraded." Price said that it painted him as a "corrupt and vicious" individual. A South Dakota judge dismissed Janklow's suit, calling Matthews' account "a fair and balanced" in the first case. A Minnesota Federal Court judge conceded that the book was "an entirely one-sided view of people and events." Still, the judge dismissed the libel case, ordering Matthews' right to state his opinion and praising Viking's determination to undertake the publication of such "difficult but important works."

Matthews, whose most recent book, *Walking Mr.*



Matthews

Matthews, whose most recent book, *Walking Mr.*

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BOOKS

Wilson, was a North American best-seller in 1984, a best known for his evocative chronicle of nature and exploration, including *The Snow Leopard* (1978), an account of a trek that he made through the Himalayas in the mid-1970s that won a U.S. National Book Award. The title of *In the Spirit of Crazy Horse* refers to 19th-century Indian leader who successfully refused to cede Indian territory to white settlers. The book continues a clearly heartfelt lawsuit for a Native people with an exhaustively documented account of a dark chapter in the history of the Pine Ridge Indian. And the new edition includes a foreword by Pulitzer Prize-winning author, who in early 1999 with a student who claimed to have contacted the Pine Ridge murders—but who refused to come forth publicly with his confession.

In the book's introduction Matheson writes that he became familiar with the Pelican case in 1979 while interviewing the leader of a band of California Indians about the construction of a fuel terminal on their sacred grounds. Although sympathetic to many native causes, Matheson writes that he was initially skeptical about the American Indian Movement, which in 1972 had led to a 71-day siege of Wounded Knee in an attempt to publicize Indian land claims. Before his appointment, Peliter had been a full-time AIM activist, and several of the group's members were convinced that he had been secretly killed.

As Matheson begins to examine the long history of the government's treatment of Native Americans and the facts of the Peliter case, he says, he became convinced that Peliter had been framed by the FBI and that the account's impression could be understood only in the context of "widespread racism, bigotry, racism, and even racism" in America. In his book, Matheson sets the scene for the Peliter case with an examination of a century of U.S. government dealings with American Indians.

From the notorious 1890 army massacre of 200 Indians at Wounded Knee, part of the agonizing drive to restrict the West, to the unending march of corporate America into the Black Hills of South Dakota and Wyoming in recent years, Matheson's is a provocative, relentlessly clear-eyed tale. Reuniting these two accounts, congressional inquests and the oral and written records of the Indians themselves, he argues that America has never observed from the stolen attention of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs Francis Walker, who spoke in 1872 of the need to reduce "the wild beasts to the condition of subjects for slavery."

Especially damning is Matheson's examination of the most recent activities of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. With the armed support of the FBI, Matheson contends, the first landlocked military anti-Indian leader Richard Wilson, chief of the Pine Ridge reserve. He points out that at the time of the situation, Wilson's administration was receiving \$27 million a year in direct government funding, despite the fact that the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights had declared Wilson's 1974 election

over AIM activist Russell Means invalid. In 1975, Matheson claims, the reserve had the highest crime rate anywhere in the United States, with dozens of AIM activists and their supporters being routinely harassed—and often shot. The situation was, he writes, "a feudal nightmare."

It was only that year, however, that the



Matheson's hard hitting and heartfelt

apexes Jack Collier and Ronald Williams drove on June 26, 1975, ostensibly seeking to charge a young Indian man with the theft of a pair of cowboy boots. Somehow—the facts remain unclear even in official FBI and FBI records of the case—shooting erupted. A heavily armed six-man team was in command nearby, and within hours hundreds of officers had surrounded the area. Still, a small group of AIM activists and supporters, including Peliter, managed to make their way into the hills. Although his comrades were soon captured, Peliter fled and at Hoston, Alaska, 380 km west of Edmonton, where he was caught by the RCMP the following February.

Although refuting Matheson's account of Peliter's experiences in the hands of the Canadian and U.S. legal systems in terms taken on the air of a conspiracy theory, the author writes that they shrank the captive's hands and feet whenever he left his Vancouver cell—treatment that Amnesty International condemned as

"unjustifiable"—and that all observers of his trial were gagged and blindfolded. The result, according to Matheson, there was an "intentional" and "unconscious" being whipped up to expedite Peliter's extradition. Matheson attributes that hysteria to a plan by Ottawa to split off, weakened, native groups across Canada—a charge that may well be valid, but that he fails to fully substantiate.

Turning to Peliter's Purgatory trial, Matheson draws on several thousand pages of police and court records to paint a devastating portrait of testimony and evidence. Virtually all the evidence that could have supported Peliter's case was ruled completely inadmissible by Judge Benson, who made his disgust for Peliter and his supporters clear throughout the trial, the author says. But as an agent at Peliter's treatment at Purgatory, Matheson sometimes makes some questionable inclusions. With only the very members who lined Peliter's trial, Matheson describes them as "very conservative, rural people—mostly Lutherans of Scandinavian ancestry"—as if judging them by their race is any more acceptable than judging Peliter by his.

Despite these flaws, *In the Spirit of Crazy Horse* is a gripping account of an unusual and disturbing case. "It is," as Scarborough's *Discover* describes it, "a piece of a larger, more complex puzzle that has yet to be figured out." Like the closing argument of a defense lawyer, it's a testament to his client's innocence. In the *Spirit of Crazy Horse* is a provocative and brutally partisan—but it is also thought-provoking, spirited and compelling.

VICTOR LITTE

Maclean's

ART-DIR. LIT

FICTION

- 1 The Kitchen God's Wife, Tan (1)
- 2 As the Crow Flies, Anker (4)
- 3 Monsoon, Shapiro (2)
- 4 Inevitably, Kinsman (2)
- 5 The Secret of Kull, Kilgus (3)
- 6 The Secret of Kull, Kilgus (3)
- 7 The Secret of Kull, Kilgus (3)
- 8 A Soldier of the Great War, Wilson (4)
- 9 The Secret of Kull, Kilgus (3)
- 10 "The" Is for Horrid, Griffin (3)

NONFICTION

- 1 The Kitchen God's Wife, Tan (1)
- 2 The Kitchen God's Wife, Tan (1)
- 3 The Kitchen God's Wife, Tan (1)
- 4 The Kitchen God's Wife, Tan (1)
- 5 The Kitchen God's Wife, Tan (1)
- 6 The Kitchen God's Wife, Tan (1)
- 7 The Kitchen God's Wife, Tan (1)
- 8 The Kitchen God's Wife, Tan (1)
- 9 The Kitchen God's Wife, Tan (1)
- 10 The Kitchen God's Wife, Tan (1)

1 (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) (8) (9) (10)

Compiled by Bruce Bellows

B A I L E Y S

BREAKING THE ICE.

